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HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM. JONES.

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LIST OF PLATES

IN

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FOR 1896.

-
- Plates I-II (p. 6 ff.) Copper-plate grant of Viçvarūpa.
Plates III-IV (p. 213 ff.) Coins supplementary to Thomas's Chronicles
of the Pathan Kings of Dehli. No. VI.
Plate V (p. 220 ff.) Rare Mogul Coins.
Plate VI (p. 223 ff.) Rare Kashmīr Coins.
Plate VII (p. 226 ff.) Nimroz Coins.
Plates VIII-XVIII (p. 229 ff.) Grant of Nṛsimha Dēva II of Orissa,
1217 Çaka.

CONTENTS

OF THE

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXV, PART I. FOR 1896.

	PAGE.
No. 1, (issued May 14th, 1896).	
<i>On Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.</i> —By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D.	1
<i>On a Copper-plate grant of Viçvarûpa, one of the Sēna Kings of Bengal. (With Plates I and II.)</i> —By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU	6
<i>Chronology of the Sēna Kings of Bengal.</i> —By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU	16
<i>The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar.</i> —By E. D. MACLAGAN, C.S., from notes recorded by The late General R. Maclagan, R.E.	38
No. 2, (issued September 3rd, 1896.)	
<i>The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgarī-alphabet.</i> —By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU	114
<i>The Later Mughals (1707–1803).</i> —By WILLIAM IRVINE, Bengal Civil Service (Retired)	136
<i>Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, No. VI.</i> —By CHAS. J. RODGERS, <i>Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, etc., (With Plates III and IV.)</i> ...	213
<i>Rare Mughul Coins.</i> —By CHAS. J. RODGERS, <i>Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate V.)</i>	220
<i>Rare Kashmīr Coins.</i> —By CHAS. J. RODGERS, <i>Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate VI.)</i>	223
<i>Coins of Nimrōz.</i> —By CHAS. J. RODGERS, <i>Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate VII.)</i>	226

No. 3, (issued February 17th, 1897).

<i>Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṃha-dēva II. of Orissa, dated 1217 Çuka.—By</i> NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU. (With Plates VIII— XVIII.)	...	...	...	...	229
<i>On two Unrecorded Sculptures in the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.— By</i> ALEXANDER E. CADDY	...	...	...	...	272
<i>A Tibetan Guide-book to the lost Sites of Buddha's Birth and Death. —By</i> L. A. WADDELL, M.B., LL.D.	...	...	...	...	275
<i>On the Kāçmīrī Vowel System.—By</i> G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S.					280

No. 4, (issued April 13th, 1897).

<i>A list of Kāçmīrī Verbs.—By</i> G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S.	...	306
<i>Index</i> ...	...	391



JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1896.

On Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.—By

G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D.

[Read March, 1896].

In the Modern Vernaculars of Western and Central India, certain causal verbs insert a *ḍ*, an *r*, an *l*, or an *n*, before or after the causal suffix. As an example I may quote the Hindi causal verb *dī-l-ānā*, 'to cause to give,' derived from *dēnā*, 'to give.'

The following is a brief summary of the distribution of these, so-called, irregular forms.

NORTH-WESTERN FAMILY.

Sindhī. In verbs ending in *i*, *u* or *ih*, and certain others, e.g., ✓ *sikh* 'to learn,' *r* is inserted after the causal *ā*. E.g., ✓ *ḍḍi*, 'give,' causal, ✓ *ḍḍiā-r*; ✓ *sikh*, 'learn,' causal ✓ *sikhā-r*. If a root ends in *ā*, *r* is inserted *before* the causal *ā*.

Kāṣmīrī. Many verbs insert *an* before the causal *āv*; e.g. ✓ *pak-an-āv* from ✓ *pak*, 'go.' Monosyllabic roots in *k*, *m*, *l* and *ṣ*, insert *r* before the causal *āv*, thus ✓ *bal-r-āv*, 'heal,' from ✓ *bal*, 'be convalescent.'

Western Pañjābī. Several verbs insert an *l* before the causal *āv* e.g., ✓ *sikh-l-āv*, 'teach,' ✓ *pi-l-āv*, 'cause to drink,' from ✓ *pī*, 'drink.' Sometimes the *l* is inserted in the middle of the root as an infix, e.g., from ✓ *saṁh* 'sleep,' caus. ✓ *samlāh*, from ✓ *bah*, 'sit,' caus. ✓ *balhāv*.

CENTRAL FAMILY.

WEST CENTRAL GROUP.

Eastern Pañjābī. Here in many verbs the causal suffix *āu* is changed to *lāu* or *āl*. E. g., ✓ *sikkh*, causal, ✓ *sikkhā-l* or ✓ *sikkh-l-āu* (also spelt *sikkh-āl* *sikkh-l-āu*).

Gujarātī. When the root contains any vowel except *a* or *ā*, the causal suffix becomes *ā-d*; e. g., ✓ *bēs*, 'set,' causal, *bes-ā-d*. If such a root ends with a vowel or *h*, the causal suffix is *vā-d*, e. g., ✓ *lē*, 'take,' causal, *le-vā-d*.

Rājputānī. Certain monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel take *r-āv* as the causal suffix; e. g., ✓ *dē*, 'give,' causal ✓ *dī-r-āv*.

Hindī. Monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel change the causal suffix to *lā*; e. g., ✓ *dē*, causal ✓ *dī-l-ā*. So also ✓ *sikh*, causal ✓ *sikh-l-ā* or ✓ *sikh-ā-l* (dial.) (Old Braj ✓ *sikh-ā-r*).

These irregular forms do not occur in the Northern Group, nor in the Eastern Family (including Marāṭhī).

The origin of these forms has hitherto been considered obscure. Beames (Cp. Gr., ii. 81) says that they start 'I know not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances.' He then suggests that it is not impossible, and indeed it is highly probable, that the forms are connected by an interchange between the two semi-vowels *l* and *v*. Hoernle (Gd. Gr., 320) says, 'the origin of these strange forms is very obscure.' He rejects Beames' hypothesis, but gives none of his own, beyond pointing out that certain Prakrit causals insert the letter *ḍ*.

Before proceeding to suggest an explanation, I must add another parallel form which has not been noticed by writers in this connexion. In the Mārwarī dialect of Rājputānī, certain verbs insert an *r* before *ij*, the suffix which forms the passive. Thus the passive of *lēṇō* 'to take' is *li-r-ijṇō*, and of *dēṇō* 'to give' *dī-r-ijṇō*.

In Sanskrit, many verbs add consonants (usually nasals) to their roots to form the present stem. This, indeed, is not peculiar to Sanskrit, but occurs throughout all Aryan languages. In Sanskrit, however, some of these consonantal root suffixes or infixes are formally recognized by grammarians, and are then called class suffixes (*na*, *nā* and *nu*), and serve as the basis of arrangement of the verbal conjugation. Examples are, (suffixes) *kri-ṇā-ti*, 'he buys,' *su-nō-ti*, 'he squeezes out,' (infix) *yu-na-k-ti*, 'he joins.' When *na* is suffixed, the verb is not considered to belong to any special class, but is conjugated in the 1st or 6th class, thus *vē-na-ti* (Cl. I), 'he is anxious,' *pa-na-ti*

(Cl. I), 'he bargains,' *mṛ-ṇa-ti* (Cl. VI), 'he kills.'¹ Frequently this nasal suffix gives a causal meaning; e.g., from \sqrt{mr} 'die,' we have *marati* (Vedic), 'he dies,' but *mṛ-ṇa-ti* or *mṛ-ṇā-ti*, 'he kills.'

Sometimes the suffix takes the form *ana*. Thus from the root *kṛp*, 'have pity,' we have for causal, *kṛp-ṇya-ti* or *kṛp-āp-aya-ti*, 'he is weak,' and *kṛp-āṇa-tē*, 'he is a suppliant.' Again \sqrt{is} , *iṣ-a-tē*, 'he escapes,' *iṣ-ya-ti* or *iṣ-ṇā-ti* 'he impels,' *iṣ-āṇa-ya-tē*, 'he excites.' So also, we have another group of verbs which take *anya*. E.g., *kṛp-anya-ti*, 'he is a suppliant;' *iṣ-anya-ti*, 'he excites;' *tur-a-ti* or *tur-anya-ti*, 'he hastens;' *bhur-a-ti* or *bhur-anya-ti*, 'he is active;' *di-dhēṣ-ti*, 'he sounds,' *dhiṣ-anya-t* (pres. part.) 'desirous to praise;' *rēṣ-a-ti* or *riṣ-anya-ti*, 'he injures,' *ruv-a-ti* (Ved.) or *ruv-anya-ti* 'he utters a harsh noise;' *hṇay-a-ti* or *huv-anya-ti*, 'he cries out.' Most of these (especially those with *ana* and *anya*) are recognized by native grammarians as denominative verbs. But, as Brugmann (l. c.) says, *all* these nasalised verbs are denominatives; *kṛi-ṇā-ti*, *su-nō-ti* and *yu-na-k-ti*, are as much denominatives as *vē-na-ti* (from *vē-na*, 'anxious') or *kṛp-āṇa-tē* (from *kṛp-āṇa*, pitiable). That is to say, in Sanskrit, verbal roots can take as suffixes (especially in the case of Denominatives and Causals) certain suffixes which are generally used to form nouns, before adding the personal terminations. The suffixes hitherto examined in regard to this, are *na*, *nā*, *ana*, *anya* and *nu*. These are all well-known nominal suffixes.

If these nominal suffixes are added in Sanskrit, it need not surprise us to find others similarly used in the old Vulgar Aryan speech of which we have survivals in the Prakrits. For instance, there is the Prakrit pleonastic suffix *ala*, *alla*, *illa* or *ulla* (H.-c., ii, 164, 165, 166, 173; iv, 429, 430). This can be added to a noun without changing its sense, and, by parity of reason, can also be added to a verbal root. Two instances of the use of this suffix attached to verbs occur in Sanskrit. The $\sqrt{pā}$ 'protect,' has two forms of conjugation, viz., *pā-ti* and *pā-l-aya-ti*, 'he protects.' The latter form is said, by European writers, to be a denominative derived from *pāla*, 'a protector;' but that, if the truth, is only half the truth. It is just as much a denominative as *vē-na-ti*, and no more. So also the $\sqrt{lī}$ or *lā*,² 'to adhere,' has for its causal $\sqrt{lā-p-aya-ti}$, *lī-n-aya-ti* or *lā-l-aya-ti*. Here there is no question of the verb being denominative. It is a pure causal formation.

Other pleonastic suffixes added in Prakrit to nouns are *ḍa* (H.-c., iv, 429, 430), and *ka* (H.-c., ii, 164; iv, 429, 430). There is no reason

¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 972, 973, 979, 986, 1089. These references are made once for all, and will not be repeated.

² I quote from Benfey's *Grammar*, Second Edition, p. 41. The *Siddh. Kaumudī*, ii, p. 193; Pa, 7, 3, 39, gives $\sqrt{lā}$. The point is immaterial.

why these should not be added to verbal roots, as we have seen to be the case with *na* and *la*.¹

A remarkable instance of this has survived in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. There is an Aryan root *der*, 'run,' which appears in Sanskrit as *drā-ti*, 'he runs.' To this root, pleonastic suffixes have been added even in Sanskrit times, so that we also find the forms *dr-ava-ti* and *dr-ama-ti*, 'he runs,' and even with more than one suffix *dr-ava-s-ya-ti*, 'he attends upon a person.' This root appears under the following forms in the modern Indian languages:—

Kāçmīrī, *dōrī*, 'he will run.'

Western Pañjābī, *drukē*, 'he runs.'

Sindhī, *dōrē* or *dōkē*.

Pañjābī, *daurē*.

Gujarātī, *dōdē*.

Rājputānī, *dōdē*.

Hindī, *daurē*, *dhaurē*.

Central Pahārī, not noted.

Naipālī, *dugurē*.

Baiswārī, *dōrē*.

Bihārī, *daugē*, *dhaugē*, *dhaurē*.

Marāṭhī, *daudē*.

Bengalī, *daurē*.

Assamese, not noted.

Oriyā, *daurē*.

Here we have the following groups:—

(1) *druk*, *dōk*, *daug*, *dhaug*,²

(2) *dōr*, *dōrē*, *daur*, *dōd*, *dhaur*,² *daud*,

(3) *dugur*.

The first, or *k*, group shows that the root has taken the suffix *ka*, and *drukē*, &c., must be referred back to a low Sanskrit **dr-ava-ka-ti*.

¹ It must not be supposed that the *n* and *l* forms are the only cases of Sanskrit roots with nominal suffixes.

As Brugmann (ii. 1020 and ff.) shows, there are many parallel instances. E. g., ✓ *bhās* (*bhā-sa-ti*) 'shine' is really a denominative, based on the ✓ *bhā* (*bhā-ti*), with the nominal suffix *sa*. So also many other roots in *s*. Again stems in *cch* (e. g., *gacchati*, 'he goes') are old denominatives, with the nominal termination *ska* (prakritized to *cch*) added. Thus *gacchati* is for *ga-ska-ti*. Again many roots in *t* are denominatives formed from nouns in *ta*. Thus from ✓ *ci* (*ci-nō-ti*, 'he sets in order,' also a denominative form), we have the past participle *ci-ta*, and also the root *ci-t* (*cē-ta-ti*, 'he understands'); so also from ✓ *yam*, we have the present *ya-ccha-ti* (i. e., *ya-ska-ti*), or (Vedic) *yam-a-ti*, 'he supports,' the past participle *ya-ta*, and the denominative verb *ya-t* (*ya-ta-tē*, 'he connects').

² The *dh* in this form is due to confusion with another root, *dhāv* having the same meaning.

H.-c., iv, 398, especially authorises the retention of the *r* in *druk* in the Western Pañjāb, where Apabhraṃṣa was spoken; and in iv, 396 allows the *k* to be retained, or changed to *g*,¹ instead of the elision which we should expect in Prakrit.

The second or *ḍ* group, shows that the root took the suffix *ḍa*, so that *daurē*, &c., must be referred to a low Sanskrit **dr-ava-ḍa-ti*. Finally, the Naipāli form *dugur*, is an instance of both suffixes, which (H.-c., iv, 430) may be used together in the same word. *Dugurē*, represents a low Sanskrit form **dr-ava-ka-ḍa-ti*.

Other instances of these pleonastic suffixes occur in Prakrit, in forming causals. Thus we have² *bhamāḍḍēi* (beside the regular *bhamā-vēi*) causal of ✓ *bhram* 'roam' (H.-c., iii, 151; iv, 30, 161), *tanāḍḍai*, 'he causes to roam' (H.-c., iv, 30), *dhamśāḍḍai*, 'he looses' (H.-c., iv, 91).

We also find them in the case of other modern vernacular verbs, as well as ✓ *daur*, though the lessons obtained from them are not so complete. Thus modern ✓ *ṭahal* or *ṭahar*, 'wait' (Skr. ✓ *sthā*), ✓ *laygar*, 'limp' (Skr. ✓ *lagg*), ✓ *jhapat* 'spring upon' (Skr. ✓ *jhamp*), and many others in which a pleonastic *l*, *r*, *ḍ*, or even *ṭ* has been added (Cf. Hoernle, Gd. Gr., 178).

The above remarks make the origin of these irregular causal suffixes, and also of the irregular Rājputānī (Mārwārī) Passive in *r-ij*, clear. These suffixes are specially common in Sanskrit in the case of Denominative verbs, and, the close connexion between Causals, Denominatives, and Passives need not be insisted upon. The pleonastic character of the suffixes is shown by their use in the I. A. V's. They are most commonly added to monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel, *i. e.*, the roots which are weakest in form, and require the strengthening given of a consonant. In other cases, their use is almost optional. *E. g.*, H. has ✓ *sikh-ā* as well as ✓ *sikh-l-ā*, ✓ *dikh-ā*, 'cause to see,' as well as *dikh-l-ā*, and so on. Finally their apparently capricious use, sometimes preceding, and sometimes following the true causal suffix, is strongly characteristic of their pleonastic character.

As regards the derivation of each of these modern suffixes, I connect the *l* with the Pr. *lla*. The Kāçmiri *ana*, may be the Skr. *anya* (used for forming denominatives), or it may be derived from the Pr. *lla*. The *ḍ* and *r* forms, are naturally to be referred to the Pr. *ḍa*, from which, moreover, it is possible that the *l* forms are also derived.

¹ Cf. Skr. *ḍag* (*ḍa-ga-ti*), *gamanē*.

² Also quoted by Hoernle, Gd. Gr., 321.

*On a Copperplate-grant of Viçva-rûpa, one of the Sēna Kings
of Bengal.—By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU.*

(With Plates I and II.)

[Read December, 1895.]

In the village Madanapāḍa, Post Office Pinjāri, Parganāh Kōṭāli-pāḍa of the Farīdpur district, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper-plate and made it over to the land-holder, who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakṣmīcandra-sāmkhyatīrtha, in 1892, and I noticed the contents of this inscription and published a facsimile of the whole plate in the *Viçvakōṣa*.¹ But this is the first time that I publish the whole text.

The plate measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and 10 inches in breadth, with a thickness of $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch. It has a curvature at the top, bearing a ten-handed image of Sadāçiva, similar to that in the grant first brought to notice in the Society's *Journal* by J. Prinsep in 1838 (Vol. VII, Part. I, p. 42).²

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The characters may be described as Bengali of the 12th or 13th century A.D., and they resemble closely the characters of the Dēopādā Inscription of Vijaya-sēna. The only letters deserving of notice are *ē*, *k*, *t*, *dh*, *n*, *bh*, *r*, *s*, and *h* which have a much more modern look than those of the Dēopādā inscription.

It contains 60 lines on both sides. The language of the grant is Sanskrit. Except the opening words *Om namō nārāyaṇāya*, the inscription is in verse as far as line 31. From there to the end, the formal part of it is in prose, with the introduction of some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 54 to 59.

As regards orthography, the only points calling for remark, are, that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides it may be noted that the letter *r*, which before another consonant is denoted by the

¹ See *Viçvakōṣa* Vol. IV., Art. Kēçava-sēna-dēva.

² See also Prinsep's Useful Tables, Ed. Thomas, p. 272, note 1.

superscript sign, is written on the line in the conjuncts *rgg*, *rṇṇ*, *rnn*, *rpp*, *rvv*, *rmm*, e.g., in *durggam* line 23, *vargga*, line 27, *nirṇṇikta*, line 8, *rnniyamita*, line 9; and that the sign of the *avagraha* is employed thrice, to indicate the elision of the vowel *a*, e.g., *vandē* 'ravinda', line 1.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the God Nārāyaṇa, of the Sun, and of the Moon. It then relates that :—

From this famous lineage (of the Moon) sprung Sudhā-kiraṇa-Çekhara (the moon-crested Çiva), in the shape of Vijaya-sēna, the touch of the nails of whose feet made kings cheerful (L. 8). From him was born a very powerful king named Ballāla-sēna. In battlefields, torrents of blood used to flow from the bodies of his enemies (L. 11). From him sprang a son named Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, who possessed extraordinary prowess, and whose charities obtained renown like those of the *Kalpa-druma* (L. 13). During his reign sacrificial posts were erected to celebrate victories achieved by the king on the coasts of the southern sea, where exist the images of *Muṣalaadhara* (Balarāma) and *Gadāpaṇi* (Jagannātha), also in *Viṣṭvēcvara-kṣētra* (Benares), at the confluence of the *Asi*, the *Varaṇā*, and the *Gaṅgā*, and also at the *Trivēṇī* (near Allāhābād), where the lotus-born (Brahmā) performed the sacrificial ceremony (L. 19). His wife Çitala-dēvī (?) earned the *tri-varga*, i.e., virtue, wealth, and all objects of desire (L. 21). As Çakti-dhara (Kārtikēya) was born from Çaci-çekhara (Çiva) and Girijā (Durgā), so was born from the king, and his queen, the crest-jewel of the rival kings, Viṣvarūpa-sēna-dēva (L. 22).

The inscription then records :—

In the victorious camp pitched at the village of Phalgu (L. 31), Gaudēcvara Viṣvarūpa-sēna-dēva, the most devout worshipper of Mahēcvara, the Lord of the Açva-pati, Gaja-pati and Nara-pati, meditated on the feet of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa-sēna-dēva (L. 35), in the presence of all the Rājās, Rājanyas (L. 38), queens, and all the officers of the Court (L. 40), declares that in Vanṅa, included in the kingdom of Pauṇdra-vardhana, within the limits of Vikrama-pura (L. 42), bounded on the east by the village-boundary of Athapāga, on the south by the village of Vārayipadā (L. 43), on the west by the village of Uñcakātṭhī, (L. 44), and on the north by the village-boundary of Virakātṭhī, and situated in the village of Piñjakāṣṭhī (L. 43), certain lands are presented by this copper-plate grant, with the hope of the future reward known as *Bhūmi-dāna* mentioned in the Çiva-purāṇa, to the Çruti-pāṭhaka (reader of the Vēdas), the illustrious Viṣvarūpa-dēva-çarman¹ of the Vatsa-gōtra, of the Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnuvata, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya pravara,

¹ He was a brother of Içvara-dēva-çarman the donee of the other grant by same king, dated 3rd year.

a great-grandson of Parāçara-dēva-çarman, grandson of Garbhēçvara-dēva-çarman and son of Vanamāli-dēva-çarman, in a proper manner and in accordance with the rules in force, stamped with the mark of Sadāçiva in the month of Bhādra of the 14th year (L. 38-51), effected by the illustrious Kōpiviṣṇu, the chief officer for peace and war in Gauḍa. (Engraved) on the 1st Āçvina of the year 14 (L. 60).

Of the places mentioned in this inscription Pinjakāṣṭhi, the village granted by it, is evidently identical with Pinjārī, a postal village in the Parganah Kōṭālipāḍa, near the village of Madanapāḍa, where the grant was found.

The other important point for notice, is the distinctive titles of the four Sēna kings mentioned in this inscription, and which have, I think, hitherto escaped the attention of the antiquarians; thus :—Mahārāja Vijaya-sēna-dēva was styled as Vṛṣabha-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara, his son Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna-dēva as Niḥçaṅka-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara, his son Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa-sēna-dēva as Madana-Çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara (L. 35), and his son Mahārāja Viçvarûpa-sēna-dēva as Vṛṣabhāṅka-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara.

The contents of the grant published by Prinsep as that of Kēçava-sēna, agree closely with those of the grant under review, with a slight exception. The place where the name of the pseudo Kēçava-sēna occurs in the grant, is in such a state as to show that, originally there was some other name, in the place of which, that of Kēçava-sēna had been put in. This circumstance led Prinsep to believe that at the time of the copper-plate being engraved, Kēçava-sēna's elder brother Mādhava-sēna suddenly expired, hence his name was erased for that of his brother's. But in the face of the copper-plate grant under review, Prinsep's inference can scarcely hold good. The reading, moreover, of Prinsep is not correct. The 10th verse of his published reading gives :—

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवत्त्रतो ।

विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्ववन्द्यो नृपः ॥

(J. A. S. B., Vol. VII., Pt. I., p. 44).

The correct reading of it according to the facsimile published by him, of the original grant of the 3rd year, and as shewn in the newly discovered grant of the 14th year (9th verse), is as follows :—

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवद्भ्रतो ।

विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥

It is evident from the above Çlōka that both the plates have the name Viçva-rûpa. In the 10th verse of Prinsep's facsimile and in the

9th of the copper-plate grant under review the name Viçvarûpa is perfectly legible and in large characters, but in other places in the former as well as in similar places in the latter (line 22 and 38) the name appears in small characters. Prinsep's fac-simile not having been in clear print, the above name in small characters does not appear very legible, whereas these small characters in the lines noted in the present copper-plate give the name most clearly. What Prinsep calls marks of erasures, are not so, I think, because where they appeared to him to be such, in the very same places occur the small characters. I regard these in both the grants as Royal sign-manuals.

L. 1. । ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

वन्देऽरविन्दवनवान्धवमन्धकार-

कारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् ।

पर्यायविस्तृतसि-

L. 2. तास्तितपद्मयुग्म-

मुद्यान्तमद्भुतखगं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥

[1]

पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं विखग्विमुद्रीभवन्

मुक्ताकुङ्कुलमब्जिम-

L. 3. स्वरनदी वन्यावनद्धं नभः ।

उद्भिन्नस्मितमञ्जरी परिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन्

प्रत्युन्मीलतु पुष्पसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं

L. 4. चन्द्रमाः ॥

[2]

एतस्मात् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरो दर्वीकरग्रामणी-

विश्रामोत्सवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे ।

येषामग्र-

L. 5. तिमन्दविक्रमकथारब्धप्रवन्धाद्भुत-

व्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्याप्ता सदस्यैर्दिशः ॥

[3]

अवातरदथान्वये महति तत्र देवः

L. 6. स्वयं

सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया ।

यदंघ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्षामुजो

दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विद-

L. 7. धिरे किलैकैकशः ॥ [4]

नीलाम्भोरुहसोदरोपि दलयन्मर्माणि कादम्बिनौ-
कान्तोपि ज्वलयन्मनांसि मधुपस्त्रिंशोपि तन्वन् भ-

L. 8. यम् ।

निर्स्निग्धाङ्गनसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेत्रकमं वैरिणां
यस्याशेषजनाद्भूताय समरे कौक्षेयकः खेलति ॥
ईषन्निस्त्रिंशनि-

L. 9. द्राविरुहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्या-
नुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां ग्रासतो यस्य राज्ञः ।
व्यासौत्तेजो जिगीषा सह दिव-

L. 10. सकरेणैव दोषस्तुलाभू-
द्भर्त्तेवाश्रीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव सौमाविवादः ॥ [6]
खेलत्खङ्गलतापमार्ज्ज्जकृतप्रत्यर्थि-

L. 11. दर्पञ्चर-
स्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकौर्त्तिरभवदल्लालसेनो नृपः ।
यस्या योधनसौमि शोणितसरिदुःसङ्घरायां हृताः
संसक्तद्विप-

L. 12. दन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिश्रियः ॥ [7]
श्रीकान्तोपि न मायया वलिजयी वागीश्वरोप्यक्षरं
वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि

L. 13. प्रोन्मुक्तदोषायहः ।
भोगीन्द्रोपि न जिह्मगैः परिवृतस्त्रैलोक्यरेखाद्भुत-
स्तस्माल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [8]

L. 14. प्रत्युषे निगडस्वनैर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमिभुजां
मध्याह्ने जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गालघण्टारवैः ।
सायं वेशविलासिनोज-

L. 15. नरणन्मञ्जीरमङ्गुस्वनै
र्येनाकारि विभिन्नशब्दघटना वन्थं त्रिसन्थं नभः ॥ [9]
पर्वं जन्मश्रुतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिप-

L. 16.

हं

नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतीरे हरः प्रीणितः ।
 एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधयवद्भवतो
 विख्यातक्षितिपालमौ-

L. 17.

लिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपोत्पः ॥

[10]

न गगनतल एव श्रौतरश्मिः न कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी
 न विवधपुर एव देवराजो

L. 18.

विलसति यत्र धरावतारभाजि ॥ [11]

वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धेर्मुसलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यां
 क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवर-

L. 19.

णाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि ।

तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभवमखारम्भनिर्याजपूते
 येनोच्चैर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्त-

L. 20.

म्भमाला न्यधायि ॥ [12]

यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिरभवद्देधाः सतीनां शिखा-
 रत्नं या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्बिम्बं ययालङ्कृतं ।

L. 21.

लक्ष्मीभूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ महा-
 राज्ञी श्रीतान्त्रा¹ देवि² तदस्य³ महिषी साभूत्तिवर्गोचिता ॥ [13]
 एताभ्यां शशिप्रेख-

L. 22.

रगिरिजाभ्यामिव वभूव शक्तिधरः ।

श्रीर्बिम्बरूपसेनदेवप्रतिभटभुपालमुकुटमणिः ॥ [14]
 आकौमारमपारसङ्गरमरव्यापा-

L. 23.

रटष्णावश-

खान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषदन्द्यस्य दोर्विक्रमं ।
 नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकितैर्दुर्गैः प्रविश्य द्रुतं
 निर्गच्छ-

1. I am very doubtful about this word : metre requires श्रीतल or श्रीतल ।

2. Read देवी ।

3. Read नृपस्य ।

L. 24. द्विररातिभूपनिवहैर्भाम्यद्विरेवास्यते ॥ [15]

कल्पस्मारुहकाननानि कनकक्ष्माभट्टिभागान्निधे
रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परि-

L. 25. भ्रम्य प्रयासालसा ॥

एतत्पादपयोधरप्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले
विभ्राम्यन्ति सतामनिद्रविदशोद्भ्रान्तामनोदृत्तयः ॥ [16]

L. 26. किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावलौ-
विलोकितविष्टङ्गुलः प्रधनजैत्रयात्राभरः ।
शशास पृथिवीमिमां प्रथितवौरव-

L. 27. गर्ग्यणीः

स गर्ग्यवनान्वयप्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥ [17]

पद्मालयेति या ख्यातिर्लक्ष्म्या एव जगत्त्रये ।

सरस्वत्यपि तां लेभे यदानन-

L. 28. कृतालया ॥ [18]

आरुह्याभ्रंलिहृष्टहृशिखामस्य सौन्दर्यरेखां
पश्यन्तीभिः पुरि विहरतः पौरसौमन्तिनीभिः ।
वार्त्ताकृतैर्नय-

L. 29. नवलितैर्विभ्रमं दर्शयन्त्यो

दृष्ट्वाः सख्यः क्षणविघटितप्रेमरुद्धैः कटाक्षैः ॥ [16]

एतेनोन्नतवेषमशङ्कटमुवः स्रोतस्वती-

L. 30. सैकत-

क्रीडालोलमरालकौमलकलत्वाणप्रणीतोत्सवाः ।

विप्रेभ्यो ददिरे महामघवता नाकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः

प्राक् प्र-

Reverse,

L. 31. क्रमशालिशालिशवलक्षेत्रोत्कटाः कर्व्वटाः ॥ [20]

इह खलु फल्गुग्रामपरिसरसमावासितश्रीमञ्जयस्कन्धावारात् सम-

L. 32. स्तसुप्रशस्युपेतअरिराजवृषभशङ्करगौडेश्वरश्रीमद्विजयसेनदेव-

पादानुध्यातसमस्तसुप्रशस्युपेतअरिराज

- L. 33. निःशङ्कशङ्करगौडेश्वरश्रीम¹वल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्त-
सुप्रशस्युपेतअश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधि-
- L. 34. पतिसेनकुलकमलविकासभास्करसोमवंशप्रदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्णसत्य-
व्रतगाङ्गेयशरणागतवज्रपञ्जरपरमेश्वर-
- L. 35. रपरमभट्टारकपरमसौरमहाराजाधिराजअरिराजमदनशङ्कर-
गौडेश्वरश्रीम²लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्या-
- L. 36. तअश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिसेनकुलकमलविकास-
भास्करसोमवंशप्रदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्णसत्यव्र-
- L. 37. तगाङ्गेयशरणागतवज्रपञ्जरपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरमसौर
महाराजाधिराजअरिराजवृषभाङ्कशङ्कर-
- L. 38. गौडेश्वरश्रीमत्विश्वरूपसेनदेवपादाविजयिनः । समुपगताशेषराज-
राजन्यकराक्षीराण्यकराजपुत्तराजामात्यम-
- L. 39. हापुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहासेनापति-
दौःसाधिकचौरोद्धरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोम-
- L. 40. हिषाजाविकादिद्याष्टतगौल्लिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषय-
पत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-
- L. 41. प्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाहं
मानयन्ति वोधयन्ति समादिसन्ति विदितमस्तु भवतां य-
- L. 42. था पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्तयन्तःपाति वङ्गे विक्रमपुरभागे पूर्वे अठपाग-
ग्रामजङ्गलभूः सीमा दक्षिणे वारयौपडाग्रामभूः सी-
- L. 43. मा पश्चिमे उच्चोकाट्टीग्रामभूः सीमा उत्तरे वीरकाट्टीजङ्गलसीमा
इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः पिङ्गोकाठौग्राममध्यात् कन्दर्पाशङ्करा
- L. 44. ³भीषपदातिष्ठाधामार्क्यं⁴द्वात्रिंशत्पुराणोत्तरचत्वी⁵शतिक १३२
षष्टिः सी भूहि ५०० तथा कन्दर्पाशङ्कराशभूमौ नारान्तपग्रामे..⁶.
- L. 45. द्वाभ्यां सप्तत्रिंशपुराणाधिकसंक्षिप्ता षट्शतिकापत्तिकपिङ्गोकाठौ-
ग्रामः सजलस्थलः ससाटविटपः सोधरसगुवाकनारिकेलस्तृण-
- L. 46. तिपूर्वान्त उपरोल्लिखितचतुःसि⁷मावच्छिन्नपिङ्गोठा⁸ग्रामोऽयं
शिवपुराणोक्तभूमिदानफ-

1. Read श्रीमद् । 2. Read श्रीमल् । 3. Obscure. 4. Obscure.

5. Read चतुत्रिंशतिक । 6. Obscure. 7. Read सीमा । 8. Obscure.

- L. 47. लप्रप्तिकामनया वत्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गवच्यवनआप्नवतःऔर्वं
जामदग्नप्रवरस्य परासरदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय व-
- L. 48. त्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गवच्यवनआप्नवतःऔर्वंजामदग्नप्रवरस्य
गर्गेश्वरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय वत्ससगोत्रस्य भार्गव
- L. 49. च्यवनआप्नवतःऔर्वंजामदग्नप्रवरस्य वनमालिदेवशर्मणः
पुत्राय वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनआप्नवतः
- L. 50. और्वंजामदग्नप्रवराय था¹तिपाठकाय श्रीविश्वरूपदेवशर्मणे
ब्राह्मणाय विधिवदुत्सृज्य श्रीसदाशिवमुद्रया मु-
- L. 51. द्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन चतुर्दशीयाब्दीयभाद्रादिना ताम्रशासनी-
कृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । पत्रचतुःसौमावच्छि-
- L. 52. ब्र सां शासनभूद्धि ई२७ तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तथं भाविभि-
रधिष्ठपतिभिरपहरणे नरकापातभ-
- L. 53. यात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् ॥ भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानु-
शंसिनः श्लोकाः ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वर्णय-
- L. 54. न्ति पितामहाः ।

भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ।

भूमिं यः प्रतिमृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ॥

उभौ

- L. 55. तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
वज्रभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

- L. 56. तस्य तदा फलं ॥

षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।

आक्षेप्ता चावमन्ताच तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥

स्वद-

- L. 57. तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पिबेभिः सह पच्यते ॥
इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलो-

L. 58.

लां श्रियमनुचिन्त्यमनुष्यजीवितञ्च ।

सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥

सचिव-

L. 59.

शतमौलिलालितपदाम्बुजस्यानुशासने दूतः ।

श्रीकोपिविष्णुरभवत् गौडमहासान्धिविग्रहिकः ॥

श्रीमन्महा

L. 60

सांकर्यानि ॥ श्रीमहामत्तककर्यानि ।

श्रीमत्कर्यानि ॥ सं १४ आश्विनदिने १ ॥



Chronology of the Sēna Kings of Bengal.—By NAGĒNDRA-NĀTHA VASU.

(Read January, 1896).

The history of the Sēna kings occupies an important and prominent position in that of Bengal. Considerable research has, from time to time, been made by Hindu and foreign scholars to discover materials from which to construct a genuine history of this dynasty, and though much light has been thrown on the subject by the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions much yet remains to be done.

My new materials are a hitherto unpublished inscription, which I have discovered at Madanapāḍa in Farīdpur, some old works on brahmanic genealogy of considerable historical value, and some ancient manuscripts. These materials will serve to correct the chronology and dynastic links of these rulers as set forth by previous inquirers; a summary of which, for easy reference, is here given.

A. James Prinsep stands first in this field of inquiry. He gives, as the result of his researches, the following list of Sēna kings in chronological order:—

A.D.

1063. Vijaya-sēna (Sukha-sēna).

1066. Ballāla-sēna.

1116. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.

1123. Mādhava-sēna.

1133. Kēçava-sēna.

1151. Sadā-sēna or Sura-sēna.

1154. Naujēb or Nārāyaṇa.

1200. Lakṣmaṇya (the last.)¹

B. Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, after further inquiries, supports Mr. Prinsep. He had certain inscriptions of Vijaya-sēna, Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, Kēçava-sēna and Açōka of Gayā before him, and gave the

¹ See *J. A. S. B.*, 1838, pt. I, p. 41; and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* (Ed. Thomas), Vol. II, p. 272.

following succession of kings in Eastern and littoral Bengal with initial years of their reigns. ¹

In Eastern and littoral Bengal:—

A.D.

- 986. I. Vira-sēna.
- 1006. II. Sāmanta-sēna.
- 1026. III. Hēmanta-sēna.

In the whole of Bengal:—

- 1046. IV. Vijaya *alias* Sukha-sēna.
- 1056. V. Ballāla-sēna.
- 1106. VI. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.
- 1136. VII. Mādhava-sēna.
- 1138. VIII. Kēçava-sēna.
- 1142. IX. Açōka-sēna.

In Vikramapur.

- Ballāla-sēna.
- Su-sēna.
- Sura-sēna, &c.

C. Sir Alexander Cunningham on the authority of the inscriptions of Deopādā, Tarpaṇādighi, Bākargañj and of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives a fresh list. ²

A.D.

- 650. Vira-sēna, from whom descended
- 975. Sāmanta-sēna.
- 1000. Hēmanta-sēna.
- 1025. Vijaya-sēna or Sukha-sēna.
- 1050. Ballāla-sēna.
- 1076. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.
- 1106. Mādhava-sēna.
- 1108. Kēçava-sēna.
- 1118. Lākṣmaṇēya (reigned 80 years.—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).
- 1198. Conquest of Bengal by Bakhtīār Khiljī.³

Sir Alexander makes also the following remarks with reference to certain princes of this dynasty:—

‘Now just as we have seen in the case of Gō-pāla, the progenitor of the Pāla Rājās, who is also called by the synonymous names of Bhū-pāla

¹ See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIV. pt. I, p. 128, XLVII. pt. I, p. 396; and Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 262.

² Rep. Arch. Sur. XV. p. 158. In a note on the subject he writes: ‘As A.D. 1107 was the first year after the expiry of Lakṣmaṇa's reign, his death must have taken place in A.D. 1106.’

and Lōka-pāla, so I believe that Vīra-sēna may have been also known as Sura-sēna. This prince I would identify with king Sura-sēna, who married the princess Bhōga-dēvī, the sister of Aṁṇu-varmā Rājā of Nēpāla, who was the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang, and of whom Pandit Bhagawān-lāl Indrajī has published inscriptions, dated in A.D. 645 and 651. In No. 14 of these Nēpāl records, the son of Sura and Bhōga-dēvī is named Bhōga-varmā, while in another record (No. 15) he is said to be the son of the great Āditya-sēna, the illustrious Lord of Magadha. Hence it seems probable that the later Sēna Rājās of Bengal were the direct descendants of Āditya-sēna-dēva, the great king of Magadha.'

Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra again comes out with the observation that 'Vīra-Sēna' mentioned in the inscription of Vijaya-sēna, the founder of the Sēna Dynasty, was no other than Ādiṣūra, who brought five Brāhmaṇas and five Kāyasthas from Kanauj.'¹

D. Dr. Hoernle, in his Review of the Sēna Kings of Bengal, says:—

'It was Vijaya-sēna, who, after defeating the king of the Pāla Dynasty of Gauḍa, became the first king of Bengal, and his predecessors, Sāmanta and Hēmanta, were rulers of some territories in Pauṇḍra-vardhana, at a time when Nārāyaṇa-pāla reigned in Bengal, between the years A.D. 1006 and 1026.'

He says further that 'Vijaya-sēna's other name was Ādiṣūra'² and adds:—

'It was probably the successor of the latter (Nārāyaṇa-pāla), who was supplanted in the Bengal kingdom by Vijaya-sēna (or Sukha-sēna), the first Bengal king (though the fourth in descent) of the Sēna family, whose date is about A.D. 1030.'³

E. In a Bengali work,⁴ the author Babu Mahimā-candra Mazūm-dār gives his view of the subject thus: 'The *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives the commencement of the reign of Ballāla-sēna in 1066 A.D., and Mr. Prinsep accepts this; but in respect of the ancient rulers of Gauḍa, the *Āin* cannot be relied upon as an authority. The writer (presumably Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra) of an article in the *Rahasya Sandarbha*, believing the year of this event to be Ṣaka 1019, supports his statement by a citation from the *Samaya-prakāṣa*, which, however, as a matter of fact indicates the year as Ṣaka 1091.' . . . Assuming A.D. 1066 as the correct year of Ballāla-sēna's accession to the throne and A.D. 1203 as the year in which his son lost it, the difference would be 137 years—a

¹ See Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 241.

² Centenary Review of the Researches of the Society, 1784–1883, pp. 209–10.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 165.

⁴ गौड़ ब्राह्मण (Brahmans in Gauḍa). pp. 90 and ff.

period which the writer of the above article considers too long for the reign of only two successive kings; he therefore makes Lakṣmaṇa-sēna as the great grandson of Ballāla-sēna, the same who was defeated by Bakhtīār Khiljī. He further adds:—‘Let us suppose that Ballāla wrote the Dāna-sāgara in Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169), and died two or three years later, when Lakṣmaṇa, an elderly person, ascended the throne which he lost after a reign of 25 or 30 years in 1203 A.D. This according to Minhājū-d-dīn happened on the king’s attaining his 80th year. If it be true it indicates no doubt old age; but there is no certainty about it The two copper-plate grants by Lākṣmaṇa-sēna—one to Īṣvara-candra-dēva-ṣarmā and the other to Kṛṣṇa-dhara-dēva-ṣarmā—bear respectively the dates 3rd Bhadra, year 7, and 10th Māgha, year 2. These years are believed to be those of the Lakṣmaṇa era. An era may commence from the date of the birth of a prince, from that of his appointment as an heir-apparent, from that of the actual commencement of his reign, or from that of any important event. The Lakṣmaṇa era, it is evident from the copper-plates did not commence from the time of his birth, but dates either from his inauguration as the prince elect, or from his accession to the throne of Gauḍa.’¹

F. In an able article on the era of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna² Mr. Beveridge says:—

‘The last Hindu king of Bengal mentioned in the Abū-l-faḍl’s list (*Āīn*, p. 413, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition) is Rājā Nōjah, who ruled three years. This is the Rājā Noe or Najah of Gladwin, for he has both spellings, and the Rājā Bhōja of Lassen. Abū-l-faḍl says that when Rājā Nōjah died the kingdom passed to Lakṣmaṇa who ruled at Nadiā and was expelled by Bakhtīār Khiljī (*Āīn*, p. 414). In my humble opinion this Lakṣmaṇa is the Lachman-sēna of the *Akbar-nāma* and the prince who gave his name to the Lakṣmaṇ era.

G. Dr. Kielhorn in his article on the Deō-pārā Inscription of Vijaya-sēna in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. (1892), thus writes on the subject:—

‘According to Dr. Rājēndrālāla Mitra. (Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Vol. I, p. 151) Ballāla-sēna in the Dāna-sāgara calls himself the son of Vijaya-sēna and grandson of Hēmanta-sēna, and according to the same authority, the Dāna-sāgara was composed in A. D. 1097. The statement I am unable to verify Vijaya-sēna is eulogised as having defeated and imprisoned besides others, the Kings Nānya and Vīra (page 306). Nānya we find again (as was first pointed out to me by Dr. Burgess) in Nānya-

¹ गोड़े ब्राह्मण pp. 90–96.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII. Pt. I, p. 5.

dēva, the founder of the Karnāṭaka Dynasty of Nēpāl, who is placed in Gaka 1019=A. D. 1097, close enough to the time when our inscription was composed to suggest the idea that he may possibly be the very king here spoken of' (p. 313). 'Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was the founder of an era which undoubtedly, dates from the beginning of his reign, and which as I have tried to show elsewhere commenced in A. D. 1119' (pages 306-7).¹

After giving this resumé of the opinions of all the writers on the subject, I now proceed to show on what grounds I have been obliged to differ from them on many important points.

I. In a manuscript copy of the Dāna-sāgara obtained by me from Assam, I find Ballāla-sēna thus speaking of himself:—

हेमन्तः परिपश्विपङ्कजसरः सर्गस्य नैसर्गिकै-
रुद्गीतः खगणैरुदात्तमहिमा हेमन्तसेवोऽजनि ।
तदनु विजयसेनः प्रादुरासीद् वरेन्द्रे
दिशि विदिशि भजन्ते यस्य वीरध्वजत्वम् ॥
दैन्योत्तापभृतामकालजलदः सर्वोत्तरः व्याभृतां
श्रीबल्लालन्दपस्ततो ऽजनि गुणाविर्भावगर्भेश्वरः ।

Like Hēmaṇṭa (the cold season) which is fatal to the growth of lotuses, Hēmaṇṭa-sēna the destroyer of his enemies, who was celebrated for his natural qualities and whose greatness was highly spoken of by his kinsmen, was born.

After him Vijaya-sēna flourished in Varēndra, whose eminence amongst the heroes was praised far in all directions

After him the king Ballāla-sēna, the head of the kings, a king from his birth, and clad in all good qualities, was born, like an untimely cloud towards those who were suffering from the keen heat (distress) of penury.

II. The old kārīkā by Hari-miṣra-ghaṭaka obtained by me from the Ghaṭakas of Ēdilpur, states as follows:—

पद्मगौडाधिपस्यास्य स्रष्टा काशीश्वरेण च ।
सम्मानेन च दानेन काशीश्वरमधःकृतः ॥
किन्तु साभिर्महाद्यापि विप्राद्यैर्विकला सभा ।
मनस्वी तेन भूपोऽयं भूदेवैर्निन्द्यराज्यकः ।
मतिश्चक्रे तदानेतुं गौडराज्ये द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX.

कोलाञ्चदेशतः पञ्च विप्रा ज्ञानतपोयुताः ।
 महाराजादिशूरेण समानीताः सपत्नीकाः ॥
 क्षितीश मेधातिथि च वीतरागः सुधानिधिः ।
 सौभरिः स च धर्मात्मा आगता गौडमण्डले ॥
 इति पञ्च समाख्याताः राज्ञा तेन परीक्षिताः ।
 कामठी ब्रह्मपुरी च हरिकोटस्तथैव च ॥
 कङ्क्यामो वटग्राम एषां स्थानानि पञ्च च ।
 एषाञ्च बहवः पुत्तास्तपोनिर्धूतकल्मषाः ॥
 भूपालैः पूजिता ये च धनैर्ग्रामैस्तथोत्तमैः ।
 महावंशप्रसूतास्ते ब्राह्मणापूजिता नृपैः ॥

× × × × × ×

क्ष्मापालप्रतिभूर्भुवः पतिरभूद् गौडे च राष्ट्रे ततः
 राजाऽभूत् प्रबलः सदैव शरणाः श्रीदेवपालस्ततः ।
 प्रज्ञा-वाक्य-विवेक-शील-विनयैः शुद्धाश्रयः श्रीयुतो
 धर्मे चास्य मतिः सदैव रमते स खौयवंशोद्भवे ॥’

× × × × × × ×

‘विप्रपालो हि बल्लालो राजा विजयनन्दनः ।
 ब्राह्मणाय कुलस्थानं दत्तवान् भुवि दुर्लभम् ॥
 ताम्रपात्रे कुलं लेख्य शासनानि बह्वनि च ।
 एतेभ्यो दत्तवान् पूर्वं कलौ बल्लालसेनकः ॥
 बल्लालतनयो राजा लक्ष्मणोऽभून्महाशयः ।
 जन्मग्रहभयाद्दोषात् कलङ्कोऽभूदनन्तरम् ॥
 प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतियहान् ।
 तत्पुत्रः केशवो राजा गौडराज्यं विहाय च ॥
 मतिश्चाप्यकरोद्वन्द्वे यवनस्य भयात्ततः ।
 न शक्नुवन्ति ते विप्रास्तत्र स्थातुं यदा पुनः ॥

Mahārāja Ādi-çūra was ruler of the five Gaṇḍas. The king of Kāçī (Benares) was his rival. The great veneration in which Ādi-çūra was held and his various acts of charity made even the king of Kāçī to blush. Ādi-çūra, however, was anxious on one account. He had not

got a Sāgnika¹ Brāhmaṇa in his court, and he made up his mind to bring some from elsewhere. Accordingly, he brought from Kōlāṅca five Brāhmaṇas full of wisdom and devotion to God, *viz.*, Kṣitiṭṭha, Mēdhātithi, Vīta-rāga, Sudhā-nidhi, and Saubhari. They came to Gauḍa with their families. The king, after testing their merits, gave them each one of five villages, *viz.*, Kāmaṭhi, Brahmapurī, Harikōṭa, Kaṇkagrāma, and Baṭagrāma to live in. The Brāhmaṇas, whom Ādi-çūra and his descendants thus honoured by grants of villages and presents of money, were descended from respectable families, and the kings who succeeded them accorded similar honour to their progeny.

After Ādi-çūra, his descendants occupied the throne of Gauḍa for some time. By Divine favour Dēva-pāla became a powerful ruler. He was wise, conscientious, meek, humble and pure. He always paid a special regard to the religious observances ordained in his Dynasty.

* * * * * Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya-sēna, always endeavoured to support the Brāhmaṇas. He honoured the Brāhmaṇas with the superior rank of Kaulīnya—a rank, the equal of which is rarely to be met with in this world. Formerly in the Kali-yuga, Ballāla-sēna had made several copper-plate grants to Brāhmaṇas.

* * * * * Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna reaped disrepute consequent on the fear entertained by him, because of his having been born at an inauspicious moment. His son Kēçava left the kingdom of Gauḍa; the fear of the Yavanas having compelled him to fight with them. At this time the Brāhmaṇas were not able to reside there any longer.

III. In the Kārikā (account of kulīna families) by Ēḍū-miçra, it is stated :—

आस्ते पश्चिमदिग्विशेषविषयः श्रीकान्यकुब्जाह्वयः
तन्मध्येऽस्ति विशिष्टविप्रनिलयः कोलाञ्चदेशः शुभः ।
तस्मादानयादादिशूरनृपतिः पूर्वस्तु पञ्चद्विजान्
तानानीय विशिष्ट पञ्च नगरं तेभ्यो ददौ गौडतः ॥
काले भूरि तिथौ गते समभवद्ब्रह्मालसेनो नृपः ।
संप्रत्यर्पणदित्तया द्विजगणान् स्नानानयत्स्वान्तिकं ॥

There is a province in the west named Kānya-kubja (kanauj). In it is a blessed place named Kōlāṅca, the residence of pious Brāhmaṇas. Mahārāja Ādi-çūra brought from that place five Brāhmaṇas and gave them five villages for their residence.

¹ Sāgnika, *lit.* possessing or maintaining fire. Sāgnika Brāhmaṇa means a priest who maintains a sacred fire, one who sacrifices according to Vedic rules.

After a long time Ballāla-sēna became the ruler of Gauḍa. He brought Brāhmaṇas to his court in order to honour them with presents.

IV. On page 220 of the said Dāna-sāgara it is written :—

अत्र संवत्सरादिसमयविशेषप्रतिपादनेन दानसागरस्य निर्माणकालस्यैव
संवत्सरत्वप्रतिपादनाय लिख्यते —

निखिल-चक्रतिलक-श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनेन पूर्णे
अग्निवदशमिते शतवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ।
रविभगणाः शरशिष्टा ये भूता दानसागरस्यास्य ।
क्रमशोऽत्र संप्रिदानुदाद्या वत्सरा पञ्च ॥
तदेवमेकनवत्यधिकवर्षसहस्रारे ऽन्विते शके
संवत्सराः पतन्ति विश्वपदारभ्य च ।

For the purpose of fixing the year of the composition of the Dāna-sāgara, it is necessary to describe the Samvatsara and other periods of times.

The Dāna-sāgara has been composed by the blessed Ballāla-sēna, the crown of all emperors.

When 1091 years expired from the Çaka-rāja the Ravi-yuga-bhagaṇa was thus :—

Years of the Satya-yuga	1,728,000
„ „ Trētā-yuga	1,296,000
„ „ Dvāpara-yuga	864,000

At the above Çaka-year the Ravi-bhagaṇa year of the Kali-yuga was 4270. Adding these four numbers we get 38,92,270. Dividing this Ravi-yuga-bhagaṇa by 5, there is no remainder or it is zero. This must be regarded as the commencement of the period of the composition of the work. At this time Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idvatsara, Anuvatsara and Udāvatsara—these five sorts of years had all equally expired.

V. Besides the above, the copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Viçva-rūpa-sēna-dēva, lately discovered, sets forth the following facts :—

अवातरदधान्वये महति तत्र देवः स्वयं
सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्या ।
खिलतृखङ्गलतापमार्जनकृत-प्रत्यर्थिदर्पञ्चर-
स्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्तिरभवद्बल्लालसेनो नृपः ॥
+ + + + + + + +

तस्माल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ।
 पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं
 नूनं तेन सुतार्धिना सुरधुनीतीरे हरः प्रीणितः ॥
 एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा शिवधूवैधव्यवद्व्रतो
 विख्यात-क्षितिपाल-मौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः ॥

In that pure and extensive Lunar Dynasty, the Lord *Çaçi-çēkhara* (Moon-crested *Çiva*) himself was born under the name of *Vijaya-sēna*. * * * * The son of the said *Vijaya-sēna* was *Ballāla-sēna*, the sight of whose weapons in the battlefield drove away from his enemies the pride of their valour. From him sprang *Lakṣmaṇa-sēna*, a *Kalpa-druma* in the world. The renowned *Viçva-rūpa* who occupied the foremost place among the kings of his time sprang from *Lakṣmaṇa-sēna*. The principal aim of his life was to subject the wives of his enemies to widowhood.

VI. In another place of the same *kārikā* of *Ēḍu-miçra*, it is related :—

नृपं तं केशवो भूपतिः

सैन्यैर्विप्रगणैः पितामहद्वतैरन्यैश्च युक्तो गतः ॥
 तां चक्रे नृपतिर्महादरतया सम्मानयन् जीविकां
 तद्वर्गस्य च तस्य च प्रथमतश्चक्रे प्रतिष्ठान्वितः ।
 क्षापालः स च केशवं नरपतिं किञ्चित् प्रसङ्गान्तरे
 वाक्यं प्राह तदा पितामहः कृतौ बल्लालसेनो नृपः ॥
 कौटुम्बं विप्रकुलाकुलादिनियमः कस्मात् कथं वा कुतः
 केनोद्योगमरेण विप्रनिकरं चक्रे तदाख्याहि मे ।
 तं श्रुत्वा कुलपण्डितं कथयितुं तत्तज्जगादादरात्
 रङ्गमिश्रमशेषशास्त्रमखिलं विप्रं प्रधापारगम् ॥

Kēçava accompanied by all the soldiers, the *Brāhmaṇas* established by his grandfather, and others went to him (the king). The famous king received them with great honour, and provided him (*Kēçava*) and his followers with means for their maintenance. Once in the way of conversation, he asked *Kēçava* what was the *Kulina*-system of *Brāhmaṇas* established by the grandfather, the pious *Ballāla-sēna*, and why, whence, where, and by what enterprise, he created the *Brāhmaṇas* (new). Hearing this *Kēçava* ordered his family-bard *Ēḍu-miçra*, who

was a brāhmaṇa by caste and conversant with all the Çāstras and the religious rites for Brāhmaṇas, to answer the questions of the king.

From the authorities quoted above we cull the following :—

1. That Vijaya-sēna, the son of Hēmauta-sēna, dwelt, after his father, in Varēndra-bhūmi as its king.

2-3. That Ādi-çūra brought from Kolāñca five Brāhmaṇas; that he lived long before Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya, flourished; that after the reign of the Dynasty of Ādi-çūra, Dēva-pāla of the Pāla Dynasty reigned in Gauḍa; the Sēna kings flourished long after him; that Ballāla-sēna made several copper-plate grants; that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna fell into disrepute owing to the time of his birth having been inauspicious; that Kēçava-sēna was the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna and that the fear of the Yavanas compelled him to run away, relinquishing his father's kingdom.

4. That Ballāla-sēna lived in Çaka 1091, *i. e.*, A. D. 1169.

5. That a powerful king, named Viçva-rūpa-sēna, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna and that the copper-plate grant was made in the 14th year of his reign.

6. That Kēçava-sēna (after the capture of Gauḍa) lived under the protection of a king.

Taking into consideration the facts now brought to light, I do not see how we can accept the statement made by Sir Alexander Cunningham, as to the Sēna kings of Bengal having descended from Āditya-sēna of the Gupta Dynasty of the Magadha kings; or that made by Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra and others as to Vira-sēna or Vijaya-sēna being identical with Ādi-çūra.

The date of Ballāla's coronation 1066 A. D., as given by Prinsep and Dr. Mitra is not borne out by the Āin-i-Akbarī, which they quote as their authority, while the Akbar-nāma, as first pointed out by Mr. Beveridge, gives the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa era as 1119. Dr. Kielhorn has supported this statement. But they believe that the Lakṣmaṇa era commenced from the year of his coronation. The statement is not borne out by the facts now brought to light. Although the Lakṣmaṇa era commenced from the year 1119 A. D., it was not the year in which he was installed. I have already shown that in Çaka 1091, *i. e.* 1169 A. D. Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna-dēva composed his work Dāna-sāgara, and even in that year he gave himself out as king of Gauḍa. Ballāla, having been on the throne at that time, it follows that Lakṣmaṇa could not have been the ruler of Gauḍa at the same time. Between the years 1119 and 1169 there elapsed a period of 50 years, and it is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī that Ballāla-sēna ruled Bengal for that period. If any reliance can be placed on this statement it must be admitted that 1119 A.D. was the

year of Ballāla-sēna's coronation. Now it may be contended that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was installed as Prince-elect and for that reason the era commenced from that time. But even this cannot be taken as correct. Hindu kings, generally speaking, nominate their sons as Prince elect at the close of their career, and numerous instances in support of this statement can be cited from works of antiquity.

Keeping this in view, it must be accepted that Ballāla-sēna was 50 or 60 years old when he began to reign in the year 1119 A.D., and in that case, at the time he wrote his *Dāna-sāgara*, he was 100 or 110 years old. But we have not heard of any king of Bengal having lived to such an old age. It is therefore evident that at the time of Ballāla-sēna's coronation, Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was not nominated as Prince Elect.

There is a tradition extant that at the time when Ballāla-sēna set out on his expedition to conquer Mithilā, news of his death spread abroad; and that at that time Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was born, and was immediately installed on the throne. It is probable that the Muḥammadan historian Minhāj's wonderful story was based on this tradition. Be that as it may, the tradition leads us to the inference that, soon after ascending the throne, Ballāla-sēna left his kingdom to conquer Mithilā, and that after achieving success he received news of the birth of a son.¹ This news pleased him so much that in his newly conquered kingdom he inaugurated a new era, which he named the Lakṣmaṇa Era. This era is still extant among the paṇḍits of Mithila; but there is nothing to show that it was introduced into Bengal.

Ballāla-sēna ascended the throne in the year 1119 A.D., so that there can be no doubt that he reigned to a very old age. Moreover, the social reforms effected by him, and the order of kulīnism, which he instituted, must have taken a considerable portion of his life; and this also is a proof of his long reign.

Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna, was very popular with his subjects. He was a learned man and took great delight in honouring the Paṇḍits of his time. Poems composed by him are found in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, *Ārgyadhara-paddhati*, *Padyāvali* and other anthologies. Even Maulānā Minhāju-d-dīn has thus written of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna—'Little or much, never did any tyranny proceed from his hand.'²

¹ प्रवादः द्रुयते चात्र पारम्पर्येणवार्त्तया ।
मिथिले युद्धयात्रायां बल्लालो ऽभ्युत्पन्नध्वनिः ॥
तदानीं विक्रमपुरे लक्ष्मणी जातवानसौ ।

लघुभारते २ य खखे १४० पृ० ।

² Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 555.

According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*¹ Lakṣmaṇa reigned only seven years; but this cannot be accepted as correct. Again, according to Minhāj, 'He reigned for a period of eighty years.' On this Mr. Beveridge writes:—

'If then Lakṣmaṇa began to reign in 1119 A.D., and reigned eighty years, this would bring the termination of his Government to 1199 A.D., which is a tolerably close approximation to the dates of the capture of Nadiyā, given by Major Raverty and Sir Alexander Cunningham. If we take Mr. Blochmann's date for that event, viz., 1198 or 1199, there is an almost coincidence between Abū-l-faẓl's date of 1119, for the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's reign, and the statement in the *Tabaqāt* of Minhāju-d-din that Lakṣmaṇa reigned eighty years.'²

I have shown above that Mithilā was conquered by Ballāla-sēna, and that in order to signalise the birth of Lakṣmaṇa a new era was inaugurated in that kingdom. I have also stated that Ballāla-sēna was living in the year 1169. Taking these facts into consideration, neither a reign of 7 years mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* nor one of 80 years, put forward by Minhāj can be attributed to Lakṣmaṇa-sēna. After Ballāla-sēna Lakṣmaṇa-sēna reigned from 1170 to 1198, i.e., 27 or 28 years in all. It is very likely that Abū-l-faẓl by mistake put down 7 in place of 27. It is probable that Minhāj while travelling from Delhi on his way to Lakhnautī, through Mithilā, heard that Bengal was conquered in the 80th L.S. and jumped to the conclusion that Lakṣmaṇa must have reigned for 80 years.

Minhāj relates:—

'When he (Maḥammad-i-Bakhtīār) subdued Bihār, his fame had reached the hearing of Rāi-Lakṣmaṇiah, and the different parts of his dominion likewise. A number of astrologers, wise men and counsellors of his kingdom presented themselves before the Rāi and represented, saying: 'In our books of the ancient Brāhmaṇs, they have foretold that this country will fall into the hands of the Turks and the time of its fulfilment has drawn near. The Turks have subjugated Bihār, and next year they will surely come into this country. It is expedient for us that the Rāi should consent so that he, along with the whole people should be removed from the country in order that we may be saved from the molestation of the Turks'³ 'When they became assured of these peculiarities, most of the Brāhmaṇs and inhabitants of that place left, and retired into the province of Sankanāt, the cities and towns of Baṅg, and towards Kāmruḍ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Rāi Lakṣmaṇiah.'⁴

It appears from a statement made by Minhāj that before Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār attacked Nadiyā, several Paṇḍits and other residents

¹ Jarrett, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. p. 146. ² Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 556.

³ J. A. S. B. 1888, Pt. I. p. 3.

⁴ Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 557.

relying on the prophecy, left the capital and went to Jagannātha (Puri), East Bengal, and Kāmarūpa (Assam).

Abū-l-faẓl has made mention of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's son Mādhava-sēna having reigned after him for a period of 10 years. Mādhava-sēna does not appear to have ruled Bengal after Lakṣmaṇa. It is likely that during the reign of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, he was either nominated as Prince Elect or that he ruled the kingdom as regent. In the *Sūkti-karṇāmrita* by Ṣṛidhara-dāsa, son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's favourite Mahāsāmanta Baṭu-dāsa, some of Mādhava-sēna's poetical writings have been inserted. I am inclined to believe that, following the example of the Paṇḍitas and others, Mādhava-sēna also left Bengal and went on a pilgrimage to Kēdāra-nātha. This is borne out by the facts given below.

At a place near the city of Almora in Kumāun, within the Himālaya regions, there is a temple dedicated to Yōgēṣvara. This temple contains a copper-plate grant of Mādhava-sēna. Moreover, inside the Balēṣvara temple, in the Kēdāra tracts, there is a copper-plate grant dated 1145 Ṣaka (A. D. 1223), in which the words 'Vaṅṣaja-Brāhmaṇa' appear. The name of Rudra-ṣarmā, Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa's descendant, is also inscribed in it.¹

It can be inferred from the above that Paṇḍits belonging to Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa's family accompanied Mādhava-sēna when he left Bengal on pilgrimage.

A careful perusal of Minhāj's account of the invasion of Bengal by the Turks, quoted above, would lead to show that prior to the event, the officers of the kingdom had made a conspiracy, and that the Musalmāns bribed the Paṇḍits of the Court to help them in forwarding their cause. Had this not been the case, the Paṇḍits of the Court would not have mentioned to the king a prophecy, which did not exist in the ṣāstras, and advised him to leave the kingdom. But the king showed his manliness by not following the advice of the Paṇḍits. He was nevertheless forced to relinquish it under the following circumstances:—

When taking his dinner, he suddenly heard of his palace having been attacked. He came to know also that, prior to this, his principal Counsellors had left the Court. It might have occurred to him also that the attack by the Turks was the result of a plot made by those officers. Driven to desperation, he knew not what to do at such a juncture. Left by the Counsellors and without any means of defence, what could an old monarch like him do? He could think of no other alternative than to quit the palace by a back-door. It has been stated by some that he went either to Orissa or to East Bengal, and established a kingdom

¹ E. Atkinson, *Kumaun*, p. 516.

there. But the old broken-hearted and depressed king appears to have gone to Jagannātha on pilgrimage. During my travels in Orissa in the year 1893, I was informed by the inhabitants of Kuṣṣ-pāla in the District of Katak, that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna had resided at that place and that he had built a temple there.

In the extract given above from the Ghaṭaka-kārikā by Hari-miçra it is plainly stated that the fear of a Musalmān attack forced Kēçava-sēna, the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna to leave Gauḍa, and in Ēḍū-miçra's account, it is mentioned that Kēçava-sēna lived under the protection of a Rājā. It may be inferred from this, that Kēçava-sēna ruled Gauḍa as regent or governor, when Lakṣmaṇa was too old to rule, and that on hearing of an attack by the Musalmāns he fled towards Vikramapura. Sixty years after the invasion of Nadiyā, Miṇhāj wrote thus:—‘His (Lakṣmaṇa's) descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Baṅga.’¹ From this we can draw the inference, that even at that time Baṅga (East Bengal of the present times) was not conquered by the Muḥammadans. It is therefore probable that after leaving Gauḍa, Kēçava-sēna took the protection of some other Sēna king.

The accounts of the Ghaṭaka-kārikā do not however state plainly who this king was. I am of opinion that he was no other than Viçva-rūpa-dēva, who is mentioned in the newly-discovered copper-plate grant. The historical portion of the facsimile of the copper-plate published by Mr. Prinsep in the name of Kēçava-sēna agrees exactly with the newly-discovered plate. The Paṇḍit who deciphered it made a mistake in taking Kēçava-sēna for Viçva-rūpa. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Rajēndralāla, Sir Alex. Cunningham, and other antiquarians endorsed Mr. Prinsep's statement, so that the mistake made by him remains uncorrected. From what has been stated above, it is evident that the copper-plate discovered by Mr. Prinsep, bearing the year 3 Samvat, and, that lately discovered by me, bearing the year 14 Samvat, were granted by Viçva-rūpa.²

The copper-plate grant of Viçva-rūpa referred to above gives the name of Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya-sēna, that of his son Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, and that of his son Viçva-rūpa; but the name of Mādhava-sēna or Kēçava-sēna does not appear in it. It follows from this that Kēçava-sēna, after Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's departure to Orissa, did not rule. And who can say that the Musalmāns did not pursue Kēçava-sēna up to Vikramapura? It is likely that, at that time, Viçva-rūpa protected East Bengal from the attack of the Musalmāns.

¹ Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 558.

² *Vide* the facsimile of Viçva-rūpa's copper-plate grant of 14 Samvat, and the article on that subject. *Ante* pp. 6 and ff.

Minhāj writes :—

‘The parts around about the State of Lakhanāwatī, such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Baṅg, Kāmṛūd, and Tirhut.....the whole of that territory named Gauḍa.’ In another place he says, ‘The territory of Lakhanāwatī has two wings on either side of the river Gaṅg. The western side they call Rāl (Rāḍha), and the city of Lakhanōr lies on that side, and the eastern side they call Barind (Varēndra)’¹

From the account given by Minhāj, it appears that at the period under notice, Mithilā, Utkala, Rāḍha, Varēndra, Baṅga, and Kāma-rūpa were included in the kingdom of Gauḍa. The Sēna kings of Bengal ruled over these territories, and for this reason the rulers were called Lords of Gauḍa (গৌড়েশ্বর). Even after the conquest of Bibār and of Lakṣmaṇāvatī (Varēndra) by Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār, the other territories comprised in Gauḍa were ruled by the Sēna kings.

Minhāj writes :—

‘When the latter (*i.e.*, Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār) led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmṛūd and Tirhut, he had despatched Muḥammad-i-shēran and his brother with a portion of his forces towards Lakhanōr and Jāj-nagar’. He states in another place—‘Alī-i-Mardan proceeded to Diw-kot and assumed the Government, and brought the *whole of the country of Lakṣmaṇāwatī under his sway.*’²

And prior to writing this, he had stated that it was this ‘Alī-i-Mardan who in the year 602 Hijra, (1205 A. D.,) killed Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār. Some time after this he went to Ghaznī accompanied by Sulṭān Kuṭbu-d-din Aibak. After remaining there as prisoner for some time he came back to Sulṭān. Kuṭbu-d-din Aibak in Hindūstān, and the latter made over to him the territory of Lakhanāwatī. It is evident from the above that the whole of Lakhanāwatī, comprising Rāḍha and Varēndra came into the possession of ‘Alī-i-Mardan at least 4 or 5 years after the murder of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār, *i. e.*, A. D. 1209—1210.

Minhāj states that Muḥammad Shēran had gone to conquer Lakhanōr, *i. e.*, Rāḍha and Jāj-nagar, the northern portion of Utkala; but up to 1209-1210 the Mussalmāns did not succeed in conquering the whole of Lakhanāwatī. It appears from this that Muḥammad-i-Shēran was defeated by Viṣva-rūpa. After defeating the Musalmāns Viṣva-rūpa assumed the name of ‘*Garga-yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra*’ (The terrible destroyer of the Yavana Dynasties, who sprang from Garga), and as at that time a portion of Utkala was under the sway of the kings of Bengal, they held the titles of Aṣva-pati, Gaja-pati, Nara-pati Rāja-trayādhipati, &c.

¹ Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 585 and 588.

² Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 578.

From what has been stated above it may be inferred that in his old age Lakṣmaṇa-sēna made Mādhava-sēna the Governor of Rāḍha or Nava-dvīpa, and Kēçava-sēna that of Gauḍa (probably Varēndra). And in this manner Viçva-rūpa obtained the sovereignty of East Bengal. If the statement made by Ēḍū-miçra is to be taken as correct, we can infer from it that Kēçava-sēna, after repairing to East Bengal took shelter under Viçva-rūpa, who I believe, formally ascended the throne in A. D. 1200-1201.

In Çaka 1019, *i. e.*, A. D., 1097, Nānya-dēva of the Karnāṭaka dynasty ruled in Nēpal. Dr. Kielhorn has shown that Vijaya-sēna defeated this king, and I accept the Doctor's statement as most probable. I have already shown that his (Vijaya-sēna's) son Ballāla-sēna was installed in the year A. D. 1119. Such being the case, Vijaya-sēna must have ruled Bengal for (at least) 24 or 25 years. After him Ballāla-sēna ruled 50 years, and his son Lakṣmaṇa-sēna 27 or 28 years.

Abū-l-faẓl has made mention of one Sadā-sēna¹ who ruled after Kēçava-sēna for a period of 18 years. I think that this Sadā-sēna probably ruled after Viçva-rūpa. It is not improbable that like the other rulers of Bengal, Viçva-rūpa also lived to an old age and reigned for many years. Abū-l-faẓl further says that after Sadā-sēna Naujā² ruled Bengal. Harimiçra has also made mention of a powerful king named Danaujā-mādhava. There is not the least shadow of doubt that Abū-l-faẓl read Nanjā in place of Danaujā. In the work named *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhi*, this Danaujā-mādhava, is described as Danuja Rāya. Dr. Wise has thus written of Danuja Rāya:—‘This is probably the same person as Danujā-mādhava, who is believed to have been a grandson of Ballāla-sēna.’³ This Danaujā-mādhava was not the grand-son, but the great-grandson of Ballāla-sēna. In speaking of Kēçava, Hari-miçra thus writes:—

प्रादुरभवत् धर्मात्मा सेनवंशादनन्तरम् ।

दनौजामाधवः सर्वभूपै सेयपदाम्बुजः ॥

एतत् सभायां बहव आगता ब्राह्मणा नराः ।

नानागुणसमायुक्ता द्वाविंशतिकुलोद्भवाः ॥

धनैश्च राजसम्मनैः पितामहजिगीषया ।

सम्बन्धं कृतवन्तश्च सर्वे भूधरपुङ्गवाः ॥ ***

एते सर्वे महात्मानः सभायां लक्ष्मणस्य च ।

राज्ञः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे प्रतिग्रहपराङ्मुखाः ॥

¹ Jarrett, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. p. 146.

² Do. Do. ” ”

³ J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I. p. 83.

After this sprang Danaujā-mādhava from the Sēna dynasty. All kings of his time made obeisance to him. Several Brāhmaṇas, sprung from 22 families, and adorned with many good qualities, came to his court, and with the view of out-stripping his grand-father, Danaujā-mādhava established them in his kingdom, giving them wealth and the title of *Kaṭṭiṇya*.....They were all established already at the Court of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.

I have not been able to ascertain from the genealogies of ancient families whose son Danaujā-mādhava was. The *Kārikā* of Hari-miṣra plainly shows that Kēṣava-sēna was not his father. I am inclined to conjecture that Danaujā-mādhava of the Sēna family was the son of Sadā-sēna.

According to Ēḍū-miṣra, Hari-miṣra, Dhruvānanda, Mahēṣvara and other genealogists, as also the old account of Kulācāryas of Ēdilpur, it was Danaujā-mādhava who reorganised Kulinism among the Brāhmaṇas and Vaṅgaja Kāyasthas. Some of these *Kārikās* give the name of Danaujā-mādhava-dēva slightly altered, such as Danuja-mādhava-dēva, Danuja-mardana-dēva. But whether he was called Nauja, Danuja Rāya, Danaujā-mādhava, Danuja-mardana or Danuja-mādhava, there is no doubt that they all refer to the same individual.¹

According to some of the *Kārikās* of Ēdilpur, this Danaujā-mādhava or Danuja-mardana issued orders about Kulinism from Candradvīpa, and again the *Ghaṭakas* of Vikrama-pura say that the proclamation was made from Vikrama-pura. Moreover there is a tradition extant that a person named Danuja-mardana, after leaving Vikrama-pura went to Candradvīpa and there established a kingdom with the help of his spiritual guide. Dr. Wise has thus written of this dynasty:—

‘It is not improbable that the founder of this family is the same person as the Rāi of Sunārgāḍ, by name Danuj Rāi,² who met the Emperor Balban on his march against Sulṭān Muḡhīṣu-d-dīn in the year 1280. It is not likely that the Muḡhammadan usurper would have allowed a Hindu to remain in independence at his capital Sunārgāḍ. If the principality of Candradvīpa extended to the River Mēghnā, the agreement made with the Emperor that he would guard against the escape of Tughlīl to the west becomes intelligible.’

‘The chief event, however, of his reign was the organisation of the Vaṅgaja Kāyasthas. He appointed certain Brāhmaṇas, whose descendants still reside at Ēdilpur (‘Adilpur), to be *Ghaṭakas* or Kulācāryas of the Kāyasthas, and he directed that all marriages should be arranged by them, and that they should be responsible that the Kulīna Kāyasthas only intermarried with families of equal rank. He also appointed a Svarṇa-

¹ See *Viṣṇu-kōṣa*, article ‘*Kulīna*.’

² Elliot’s *Muḡhammadan Historians of India*, Vol. III. p. 116.

mātya, or master of the ceremonies, who fixed the precedence of each member of the Sabhā or assembly, and who pointed out the proper seat each individual was to occupy at the feast given by the Rājā. These officers still exist and the holders of them are much respected by all Kāyasthas.¹

It seems evident from the above that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's grand-son, Danaujā Rāi or Danaujā-mādhava of Vikrama-pura, having been greatly annoyed by the Musalmāns, went to Candra-dvīpa and established a kingdom there. From the Kārikās of the Ghāṭakas of Candra-dvīpa, it would appear that after Danaujā-mādhava, his descendants Ramā-vallabha-dēva-rāya, Kṛṣṇa-vallabha-dēva-rāya, Hari-vallabha-dēva-rāya and Jaya-dēva-rāya ruled Candra-dvīpa one after another.² The last of the Sēna kings of Candra-dvīpa (Jaya-dēva) had no male issue. The oldest of the kārīkās of the Ghāṭakas of Candra-dvīpa thus says:—

वलभद्रात्मजो धीमान् परमानन्दसञ्जकः ।

तस्य मातामहः कृती जयदेवो महाबली ॥

चन्द्रदीपस्य भूपालो देववंशसमुद्भवः ।

मृत्युकालं प्राप्य स हि ततः पञ्चत्वमागतः ।

परमानन्दकस्तस्मात् चन्द्रदीपेश्वरोऽभवत् ॥

Paramānanda the wise was Bala-bhadra's son, and the valiant Jaya-dēva was the grand-father of Paramānanda on the mother's side. Jaya-dēva belonged to the Dēva-family and was the king of Candra-dvīpa. On his demise, Paramānanda, as heir to the throne, ruled the kingdom.

A question may here arise that if Jaya-dēva and his predecessors belonged to the Sēna family, how is it that in the books of the Ghāṭakas of Candra-dvīpa they are spoken of as having sprung from the Dēva-family?³ But the question is easy to answer. In all the inscriptions discovered from the time of Vijaya-sēna to that of Viçva-rūpa, the title 'dēva' is attached to the names of all the Sēna kings, and this accounts for the statement made by the Ghāṭakas.

In all the kārīkās of the Ghāṭakas of Ēdilpur, it is mentioned, that Paramānanda-rāya, the first king of the Vasu family of Candra-dvīpa, son of Bala-bhadra-vasu, a first-class Kulīna of Dehurghāṭī, was Rājā Jaya-dēva's daughter's son. All these show conclusively that the

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 206-7.

² Dr. Wise gives a similar Table, except that he omits the name of Hari-vallabha-dēva. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

³ Dēva means here divine or illustrious.

kingdom of Candra-dvīpa came to be ruled by the descendants of the daughter of Jaya-dēva.¹

Abū-l-faẓl thus writes of Candra-dvīpa, *i. e.*, Sarkār of Bāklā :—‘ In the 29th year of the Divine era, a terrible inundation occurred at 3 o’clock in the afternoon, which swept over the whole Sarkār. The Rājā held an entertainment at the time. He at once embarked on board a boat, while his son, Paramānanda-rāya with some others climbed to the top of a temple and a merchant took refuge on a high loft. For four hours and a half the sea raged amid thunder and a hurricane of wind. Houses and boats were engulfed, but no damage occurred to the temple or loft.’²

It would appear from Abū-l-faẓl’s statement that Paramānanda’s father also was a king of Candra-dvīpa, and that Paramānanda escaped from the flood that took place in the 29th year of Akbar’s reign, *i. e.* 1585 A. D. There is no doubt as to the deluge having occurred in the year quoted above ; but according to the account of the Kulācārya-kārikās of Candra-dvīpa, Jagadānanda-rāya was the ruler at that time and the life of his son Kandarpa-nārāyaṇa was saved on the occasion.³

Especially, in the year after the occurrence of the deluge referred to, *i. e.*, 1586 A. D., Ralph Fitch, who came to this country, saw Kandarpa-nārāyaṇa, the grandson of Paramānanda on the throne.⁴ Under such circumstances, more reliance should be placed on the genealogy of the royal dynasty of Candra-dvīpa than on what has been mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. According to the rules of inheritance, Paramānanda was heir to Jaya-dēva and not his father Bala-bhadra. It is probable that at the time of Jaya-dēva’s death, Paramānanda was too young to take up the reins of government, and that in consequence his father directed the affairs of the state on his behalf.

According to the Tibetan author, Tārānātha, the close of the Sēna dynasty must have taken place in A. D. 1300. In my opinion, in that year the Sēna kings were only driven from Sunār-gāḍ by the Muḥammadans. We see Danujā-rāya of Sunārgāḍ helping Balban even in A. D. 1280. Under such circumstances it is more probable that 20 years from

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

² Jarrett’s *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 123.

³ In the kārikā written by Dhruvānanda-miṣra, Court-Poet of Rājā Prēmānārāyaṇa of Candra-dvīpa, it is stated :—

तस्यात्मजः महाकृतिः जगदानन्दसंज्ञकः ।

गङ्गाध्यानं दृत्यकाले चकरोत् स द्रपोत्तमः ॥

अतैतच्च सुरधुनी जलरूपा ततो भवत् ।

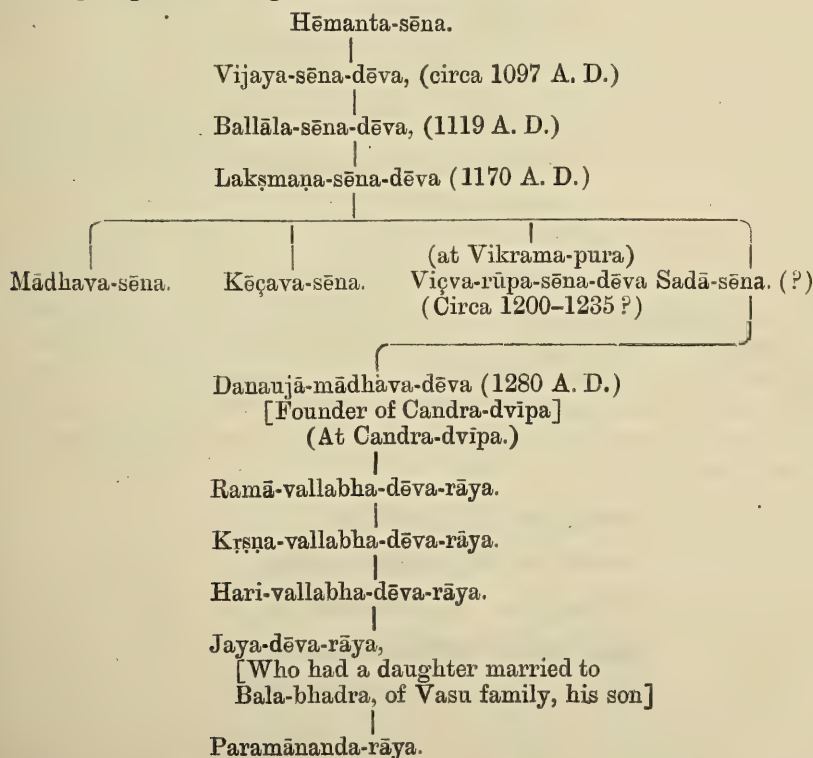
मृदोला तं द्रपवरं तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ॥

कन्दर्पोपमकन्दर्पो जगदानन्दकात्मजः ।

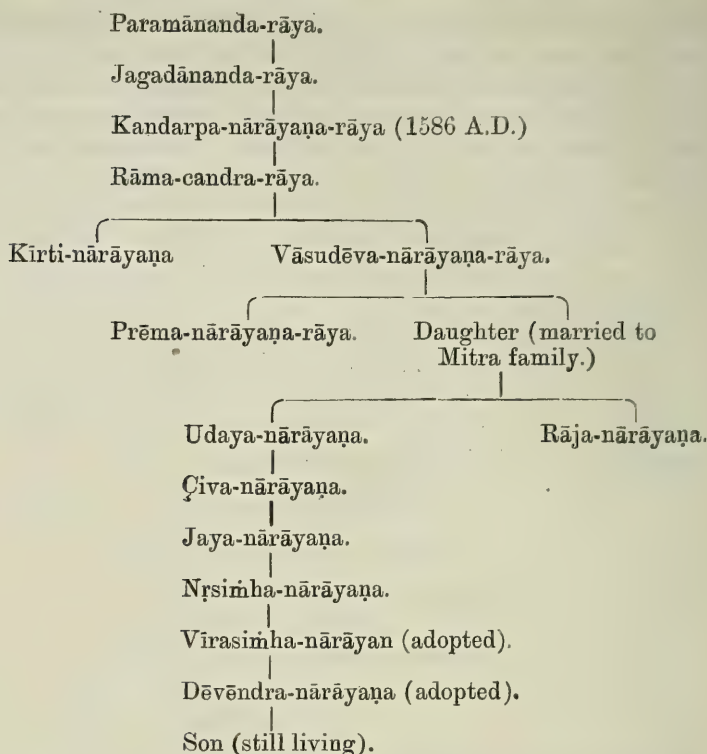
⁴ Hackluyt’s *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 257; and *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

that occurrence, Danuja-rāya, being driven from Vikrama-pura or Suvarṇa-grāma, founded the kingdom of Candra-dvīpa.

In page 473 of his account of Bengal, Tieffenthaler adds that after Rājā Nodjā (Danaujā) there reigned seven Hindu princes whose names are not known and who ruled for 106 years. But I have already pointed out from the genealogy of the kings of Candra-dvīpa that after Nodjā or Danaujā four of his descendants ruled one after another, and the son of the last king's daughter inherited the kingdom. In all likelihood this change took place between the years 1440 and 1460 A. D. After seven members of the Vasu family had ruled Candra-dvīpa, the kingdom passed into the hands of the Mitra family, the sister's son of the last king having ascended the throne. At present the descendants of that dynasty are living at Mādhava-pāṇā.¹ A genealogical table of the kings of the Sēna dynasty and of those of the Vasu and Mitra families that sprung from it, is given below :—



¹ For a full account of the Candra-dvīpa-rāja-vamṣa, see Viṇva-koṣa, Vol. V article 'Candra-dvīpa,' and Babu Braja-sundara Mitra's History of the Candra-dvīpa-Rāja-family.



Before we conclude this subject, we must clear up one point with regard to the Sēna kings having belonged to the Vaidya caste. There is a tradition extant that Ballāla-sēna of Vikrama-pura was a Vaidya. This tradition has sprung from the fact of there having been a Vaidya king of the same name. Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa in his work, 'Ballāla-carita' thus speaks of him :—

वैद्यवंशावतंसोऽयं बल्लालनृपपुङ्गवः ।

तदाज्ञया कृतमिदं बल्लालचरितं शुभम् ॥

गोपालभट्टनाम्ना च तद्राजशिक्षकेन च ।

अन्यराजजमाने वसुभिर्वाणैरधिकशक्रेषु ।

रुद्रैश्च दर्शिते मासे राशिभिर्माससम्मिते ॥

This shows that in 1300 Çaka, *i.e.*, 1378 A.D., Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa, teacher of king Ballāla-sēna of the Vaidya family, wrote by order of the king a book called Ballāla-carita. It is well known that Ballāla-sēna, son of Vijaya-sēna, lived about 250 years previous to this, and that in the year

1378 almost the whole of Bengal came under the Musalmān rule. It is also stated in the 'Ballāla-carita,' that Ballāla of the Vaidya family, fought against a Musalmān Faqīr named Bābā Ādam.¹

This shows conclusively that Ballāla of the Sēna family of Gauḍa was a Kāyastha or a Kṣatriya of the Lunar Dynasty, and that Ballāla of Vikrama-pura, who lived long after him, was a Vaidya. The latter, probably, was a Zamīndār of note, who at the time of dismemberment of the Kingdom of Bengal rose to some eminence.

POSTSCRIPT.

After I had finished the above article, I obtained from an old Ghāṭaka of Farīdpur, a Vaṁcāvali of the kings of Candra-dvīpa. This Vaṁcāvali in a verse clearly describes Jaya-dēva the 5th king of Candra-dvīpa, as descended from the Sēna dynasty. The Çlōka runs thus:—

तस्य मातामहः कृत्वी जयदेवो महावली ।

चन्द्रदीपस्य भूपालो सेनवंशसमुद्भवः ॥

From the above, there can be no doubt of Danaujā and his descendants being descended from the Sēna dynasty. Moreover I have heard from the old Ghāṭaka, that Danaujā and his successors styled themselves Rāyas of Candra-dvīpa.

¹ Cunningham, Rep. Arch. Sur., Vol. XV, p. 135: *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVIII, Pt. I, pp. 18-19.

The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar.—By E. D. Maclagan, C. S.,
from notes recorded by the late GENERAL R. MACLAGAN, R.E.

[Read April 1896.]

Almost all the historians of the reign of Akbar have discussed in some form or other his religious views, and in histories written by Europeans attention has naturally been paid to the attitude which he assumed towards Christianity, as put before him by the Jesuit Missionaries at his Court. The records of these Jesuit Missions are not, however, very easy of access, and few of the published histories do more than refer in the briefest terms to the remarkable incidents which these records set forth and the interesting picture of the times which they present to us. In order to supply this defect it was the intention of the late General Maclagan R.E., to prepare a sketch of the religious views of the Emperor Akbar, which should have special reference to the history of his attitude towards Christianity, and the present writer has come into possession of the notes and references which General Maclagan from time to time recorded with this object in view. It is unfortunately impossible to prepare from these notes any complete sketch of the nature originally contemplated, but it may be of some interest to reproduce in one place the substance of the chief original authorities on the subject of the Jesuit Missions at Akbar's Court, and the scope of the present paper is limited to this.

What the general histories tell us is shortly as follows. That from about A.D. 1580, till his death, or at any rate till the year 1596, the Emperor Akbar held the most unorthodox opinions, culminating for a time in the promulgation of a form of natural religion entitled the *Tauhid-i-Ilāhī* or Divine Monotheism, in which the worship of the Sun and of the Emperor himself formed a prominent part. That during this period he assumed a tolerant attitude towards all religions and made constant enquiries into the tenets and customs of the Hindūs, Pārsis and Christians; and that at his invitation three separate special missions were equipped and despatched to his Court by the Jesuit authorities at Goa. The first of these missions was sent in 1580, under

the guidance of Father Rodolfi Aquaviva who remained at the Court of the Mogul for three years. The second, under Father Edward Leoton, arrived in 1591 and after a short stay was somewhat hastily withdrawn. The third, under Father Jerome Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis, persevered in its labours from the date of its commencement in the year 1595 to a time considerably later than the death of the Emperor.

It is of these three missions that the present paper treats. A narrative of all the three missions is to be found in Hugh Murray's 'Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia,' Edinburgh, 1820, vol. II., 82-96, but the narrative is brief and is disfigured by some unfortunate misprints of dates. So again in the Rev. James Hough's 'History of Christianity in India,' London, 1839, vol. II., 260-287, there is a history of the missions to Akbar, which is taken almost entirely (mistakes and all) from the History of the Mughal Empire issued in 1708 by the Jesuit Catrou: Catrou's work was compiled from the Portuguese manuscript of Signor Manuchi, a Venetian who was physician to the Mughal Court in Aurangzeb's time, and Manuchi professed to base his history on Persian records in the Mughal capital, but his translator, Catrou, confesses to having added to the original history, and the account of the Jesuit missions in Catrou's work is obviously taken from European sources.¹ Even in the 'Kaiser Akbar' (1880) of Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), where an admirable account, based on Du Jarric's history of these missions will be found, there is a certain want of completeness owing to the fact that the writer had not apparently seen the last volume of Du Jarric's work which treats of the missions after the year 1600.² It is advisable, therefore, to leave our modern authorities and to go back as far as we can to the original records of these missions.

Notices by native historians.—Before, however, examining the Jesuit records attention may be paid to the passing allusions made by native historians to the Christian proclivities of Akbar and the doings of the priests at his Court.³ We are fortunate in finding among

¹ See also 'The Portuguese in Northern India,' *Calc. Rev.* v. 279-284, (1848).

² See *Kaiser Akbar*, I., 440. A short notice of Akbar's connection with Christianity will be found in Bohlen's 'Alte Indien,' 1830, vol. I., 104-105. Attention may also be directed to Dr. Ireland's romance called 'Golden Bullets,' Edinb., 1890, in which the Jesuits at Akbar's Court play a large role: and to the sketch of the missions in Max Müllbauer's *Geschichte per katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, 1852, pp. 133-149.

³ The quotations made below are all collected from translations and English works and cannot claim to be exhaustive. Reference may be also made to Asad Beg's amusing account of the introduction of tobacco in Akbar's Court, and the Jesuit Father's support of the tobacco smokers (Elliot, VI., 167).

contemporary writers two historians who had exceptional opportunities for knowing the facts of which they wrote and who treated those facts from two entirely different points of view. On the one hand, we have 'Abdu-l-qādir Badāūnī, the trenchant champion of orthodoxy at Akbar's Court, whose *Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh* carries the history of Akbar down to the year 1595. On the other hand there is Akbar's abettor and favourite minister, Abū-l-fazl, the author of the *Akbar-nāma* which contains a history of the same period down to the year 1601.

Badāūnī's work first notices the introduction of Christian influence in treating of the year 1575, and according to that author the rationalizing tendencies of Akbar's Counsellors Abū-l-fazl, Abū-l-fath, etc., were due partly to the fact that 'there came' (presumably about that time) 'a great number of Portuguese from whom they picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning.'¹

The practise of Christian ritual followed soon after, for Badāūnī tells us² that 'the ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and the *cunabula* [kanābalān] which is their time of mirth, and other childish playthings of theirs were daily in practice.' The words *Kufr shāi* 'shud, or 'Heresy became common,' express the *Tārikh*' (A. H. 985. A. D. 1577-8).

The first Missionary at Akbar's Court arrived in March, 1576, but the first organized mission was in 1580, and it is to this that Badāūnī refers in the following passage. In the course of his explanation of the reasons which led the Emperor to renounce Islām, he writes³:—

'Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of Pādre. They have an infallible head, called Pāpā. He may change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the Gospel and mentioned to the Emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of

¹ Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 211 (not 281, as printed in Blochmann) quoted in Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī* I. 163. The fact is noted in treating of the year 1575, and if the Portuguese mentioned in the text came that year, they were probably private individuals (artizans, &c), for there seems to be no record of a regular embassy between that of 1572-3 (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI, 42) and that of 1578 noticed below. From Lowe's translation, however, there seems no need to fix the arrival of the Portuguese in any particular year.

² Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 301 (304) quoted in Blochm. *Āin* I. 493. See also Blochm. *Āin* I. 618 and *Progs. Beng. As. Soc.*, May 1870, p. 146.

³ Bad (Bib. Ind) II, from Blochm. *Āin* I. 182.

auspiciousness, and charged Abū-l-faẓl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm*¹ the following lines were used.

Ai nām-i-tu Jesus ō Kiristō,

[O Thou, whose names are Jesus and Christ],

which means: 'O Thou, whose name is gracious and blessed!' and Shaikh Faizī added another half, in order to complete the verse

Subḥānaka lā siwāka Yā hū.

[We praise Thee; there is no one besides Thee, O God.]

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.'

In a different place² Badāūnī describes the introduction of an organ, but not apparently in connection with Christian worship. In another passage,³ however, there is a somewhat obscure allusion to the Emperor's Christian proclivities. At a discussion carried on in Akbar's presence Hājī Ībrāhīm asked Mirzā Mufis 'How is *Mūsā* declined? and what is the root of the word?' to which no satisfactory answer was given: whereupon the Emperor asked the Qāẓi's son Shukr, 'Why do you not join in the discussion?' to which Shukr replied: 'If Hājī Ībrāhīm were to ask how to decline '*Īsā* (Jesus), what answer should I give?' And His Majesty, we are told, very much applauded this speech.

In describing the events of the end of the year A.H. 989 (17th Feb. 1580—5th Feb. 1581) the same historian says⁴:—

'At this time his Majesty sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār to bring Shaikh Qutbu-d-dīn⁵ of Jalāsar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Qutbu-d-dīn came the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed: 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion.' The fire was made, the Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him: 'Come on, in the name of God.' But none of the priests had the courage to go.

¹ The formula used by school children before beginning to read from their books. The words *Ai nām*, etc., are given above in the form adopted by Professor Blochmann from the version of the story given in the *Dabistān*: the edition of Badāūnī used by Blochmann has *ai nāmī wai zhazhō Kiristō*. Cf p. 51 below.

² Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 269.

³ ditto II. 187.

⁴ Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 299. Quoted by Blochm *Āin* I. 191.

⁵ In recounting his version of the story Fr. de Sousa (*Oriente Conquistada* 1710 II. 170) gives the name as Mola Xequeria (Mulla Zakaria).

‘Soon after this the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqīrs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.’

We shall note later on the Jesuit version of this episode. Meantime let us see how Abū-l-faẓl describes it¹:—

‘One night the Ibādat-khāna was brightened by the presence of Pādre Radalf² who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him and thus afforded an opportunity for the display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly. These men brought forward the old received assertions and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces and they were nearly put to shame: and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Pādre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say: ‘If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Qurān to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the ‘ulamā with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.’ The black-hearted and mean-spirited disputants shrank from the proposal, and answered only with angry words.’

In narrating the events of the 35th year of the reign (A. D. 1590-1) Abū-l-faẓl says³:—

‘At this time Pādre Farmalūn⁴ arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translation of Greek books and for extending knowledge. With him came a number of Europeans and Armenians who brought silks of China and goods of other countries, which were deemed worthy of His Majesty’s inspection.’

The same historian informs us of the arrival of a large caravan from Goa, containing several learned men known as Pādres, on the 19th Ardibihisht 1003 [28th April, 1595].⁵ In another passage he states⁶ that

¹ *Akbarnāma* (Bib. Ind.) III. 254. Elliot *Hist. Ind.* VI. 60, cf. p. 51 below.

² This is Prof. Blochmann’s reading (*Āin* I. 168): the MSS. have Radīf, Rawīq and Raunaq. Although the passage occurs in the description of the events of the 23rd year of the reign (1578-9), the reference is almost certainly, to Padre Rodolfi Aquaviva who arrived at Fathpur Sikrī in Feb. 1580.

³ *Akbarnāma* (Bib. Ind.) III. 577. Elliot *Hist. Ind.* VI. 85.

⁴ Or Farabatūn. Perhaps some corruption of ‘Duarte Leoton’ or possibly ‘Grimalleon’ sc. Leo Grimon (see p. 60 below). Beveridge in an interesting article on Jerome Xavier in this *Journal* suggests ‘Fra Emmanuele’ sc. Pinheiro, but Pinheiro was not a ‘Fra’ nor did he go till 1595. *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 34.

⁵ *Akb.* (Bib. Ind.) III. 669. Beveridge in *J. A. S. B.* 1888 p. 34. Xavier arrived at Lahore on 5th May, 1595.

⁶ See Rehatsek in *Calc. Rev.* Jan 1886, p. 3.

malevolent persons had spread the rumour of the Emperor's hatred to Islām and of his having become a Brahman, but they were refuted and put to shame by certain Christian philosophers in a public disputation held for that purpose. But he ascribes no permanent influence to these Christian philosophers, for in a further passage¹ he writes:—

'The Emperor conversed for some time on the religious information he had obtained from Christian priests, but it appeared after a short while that their arguments had made no great impression on his mind so that he troubled himself no more with contemplations about asceticism, the allurements of poverty and the despicableness of a worldly life.'

So far Badāūnī and Abū-l-fazl. In the *Dabistān* which was written about sixty years after Akbar's death, we find a curious account² (how far exact we cannot tell) of a discussion which took place before Akbar between a 'Nazarene' and a Muḥammadan, and of another between a 'Nazarene' and a Jew. These appear³ to be based on Xavier's dialogues in the *Āina-i-Haqq-numā*, which will be noticed further on, and are not worth reproducing here.

Jesuit authorities.—Turning now to the Jesuit accounts of the missions, it will be convenient to note shortly the chief published *origines* available:—

1. The *Annux Literæ* or Annual Reports of the doings of the Society throughout the world, which were circulated to the various Jesuit centres, pay little or no attention to Upper India. Out of the reports available in the British Museum, *viz.*, those for 1582-3, 1586-7, 1592—5, 1597-8 and 1600—5, those for 1582 and 1597 alone contain information regarding the Mughal Missions.

2. Practically our only authority for the second mission consists of two letters with enclosures from the Provincial at Goa, which were published in Italian by the Jesuit father *Spitilli* at Rome, in 1592. A Latin translation of his work was published at Antwerp in 1593 and called: 'Brevis et compendiosa narratio missionum quarundam orientis et occidentis excerpta ex quibusdam litteris a P. P.... datis anno 1590 et 1591.' A French translation followed at Lyons in 1594.

3. A valuable authority is John Baptist *Peruschi*, a Jesuit who in 1597 published at Brescia, a little book called 'Informatione del Regno e stato del gran Rè di Mogor.' French translations appeared at Besançon and Paris in 1597 and 1598 respectively: and the book was also translated in 1598 into German and Latin at Maintz. The Latin

¹ *Akb.* (Luckn. litho. ed.) III. 208, taken from Rehatsek, *Calc. Rev.* Jan. 1886, p. 3.

² Shea and Troyer's Translation, III. 65-9.

³ See Dr. Lee's preface to Martyns, 'Controversial Tracts,' p. 37.

translation which is the version most easily available is entitled 'Historica Relatio de potentissimi Regis Mogor, a magno Tamerlane oriundi vita moribus et summa in Christianam Religionem propensione... excerpta ex variis epistolis inde acceptis anno 1582, 91 et 95.' The letters of 1595 are quoted in full and an extract is given from another which may bear the date of 1582 though the date is more probably 1580: but there is no trace of the letter of 1591 unless it is in the account of the Mughal Empire which professes to be based on letters of 1582 and 1592 (? 1591). Peruschi devotes only two lines to the second Mission of 1590-I, but his history of the first Mission of 1580—83 remains the basis of all subsequent accounts of that Mission.

4. In 1601 two letters written by the mission at Lāhor in 1598-9 were published by a Jesuit called John *Oranus* at Liège, in a collection of papers entitled: 'Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana, hoc est, de rebus apud eas gentes a Patribus Societatis Jesu anno 1598 et 99 gestis. A P. Ioanne Orano in Latinam linguam versa.'

5. Another version of the same two letters was published in 1601 at Maintz in a book called: 'Recentissima de amplissimo Regno Chinae, item de statu rei Christianae apud magnum Regem Magor.'

6. A letter of 1599 from the Provincial Father Pimenta at Goa, was published at Maintz in 1601, under the title: 'Nova Relatio Historica de Rebus in India Orientali a patribus Societatis Jesu anno 1598 et 99 gestis.' In the same year another Latin copy was issued at Milan, and an Italian version was published by Zannetti in Rome. French versions appeared at Antwerp and Lyons in 1601 and 1602 respectively.

7. The report submitted by the Provincial from Goa in 1600 was published by Zannetti at Rome in 1602, another version in Italian appearing at Venice in the same year. A Latin version was published at Maintz in 1602 under the heading 'Exemplum epistolae P. Nicolai Pimentae provinciae orientalis Indiae visitatoris.....de statu rei Christianae in India Orientali,' and another Latin version issued at Constance in 1603 under the title 'De felici statu et progressu rei Christianae in India Orientali epistola R. P. Nicolai Pimentae.' A German translation had appeared at Constance in 1602 and a Portuguese copy at Lisbon in the same year. A French translation was published at Paris in 1603 by 'L. S. D. C.' under the heading 'Les miracles merveilleux advenus aux Indes Orientales.'

8. A reprint of a number of Jesuit reports was published in 1605 at Antwerp by the Scotch Jesuit controversialist, John *Hay* of Dalgetty, under the title 'De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis epistolae recentiores...in unum librum coacervatae'. This book includes the whole of Peruschi's work (No. 3 above), Pimenta's letters of 1599 and 1600,

(Nos. 6 and 7 above) and Oranus' version of the Lāhor letters of 1598-9 (see No. 4 above). There is no original matter in this book but it contains a number of first hand authorities in a convenient form.

9. A German work published at Augsburg in 1611 under the title 'Drei Neue Relationes, etc.' contains an account, compiled from Hay's book, of the general condition of the Mughal Kingdom, &c., and a translation of a letter of 1607 giving particulars of Akbar's death.

10. In 1601 Father Luis de *Guzman*, S. J., Rector of the College of Toledo, wrote in Spanish, a 'Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus para predicar el sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon.' The authorities for the history are not given, and the story stops at the year 1599: this is our first general history of the Missions.

11. Father Fernam *Guerreiro*, S. J., of Almodonar, published at Lisbon a 'Relaçam annal das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus' for each of the three periods 1600-1, 1602-3 and 1604-7. Of the first there is a Spanish translation in the British Museum published at Valladolid in 1604 by Father Antonio Colaço, S. J. Of the second, issued at Lisbon in 1605, there is a copy in All Souls College Library at Oxford. Of the third I have seen no copy. These Relations are 'tirada dos cartas dos mesmos padres' and they are first rate authorities.¹

12. A most useful work is the History published at Bordeaux in 1608 by Father Pierre *du Jarric* of Toulouse under the title 'Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales que autres pays de la decouverte des Portugais, en l' establissement et progrez de la foy Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus y ont faict et enduré pour la mesme fin, Depuis qu' ils sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600. Le tout recueilly des lettres et autres Histoires qui en ont esté escrits cy devant, et mis en ordre par le P. Pierre du Jarric Tolosain de la mesme compagnie?'² This work, a copy of which was published in 1611 at Arras, has two parts, and a third part including the period 1600-1610 was published in 1614. A 'Nouvelle Histoire' by 'R. P. D. I.' was also published at Arras in 1628, but appears to contain nothing new:

¹ See De Backer 'Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la compagnie de Jesus' série 1^e, p. 366. In von Noer's 'Kaiser Akbar,' II. 309, reference is made to a Portuguese work by Guerreiro, published in 1611, and to an account there given of an argument between the Emperor and a padre. In von Noer's book, published after the author's death, this padre is represented as Guerreiro himself, but this is no doubt an oversight.

² This is the work quoted in this paper. The Mughal Missions are described in vol. II. 429-493 and vol III 27-97.

and a Latin Translation under the title '*Rerum Indicarum Thesaurus*' was published at Cologne in 1615. In his '*Preface au lecteur Chrestien*' Du Jarrie gives his authorities: he tells us that he began by translating Guzman (No. 10, above) and finding omissions and difficulties wrote to him, but got no answer; Guzman having died about this time: he also wrote to Guerreiro (No. 11, above) at Lisbon, who had written some books in Portuguese on things which had happened since 1599, and received from him an obliging reply and some books, among which were notes on Guzman's history, by P. Albert Laertius, an Italian, who was Provincial in India at the time of Du Jarrie's writing; as well as the letters which were arriving from India, up to the year 1606.

13. The Abbate Clemente *Tosi* published at Rome in 1669 a '*Dell' Indie Orientale Descrittione Geografica et Historica*,' on pp. 94-6 of vol. I, of which the history of Christianity under Akbar is given. This history is based on Du Jarrie, and is too short to be of value.

14. In 1667 had been published at Rome a book by Father Daniel *Bartoli*, S. J., called '*Dell' Istoria della compagnia di Giesu d'Asia... Parte Prima—Editione Terza, accresciuta della Missione al Mogor e della Vita e morte del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva*.' The '*accretion*,' which is at pp. 605-663, is practically a life of Aquaviva. A reprint of this part of the book was published in 1714 by Salvioni at Rome, under the heading, '*Missione al gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva*;' a work which has the merit of being well-printed and of having at the beginning a long list of authorities on the life of Aquaviva.

15. In 1739, the Protestant professor Louis *de Dieu* published at Leyden a translation of, and notes on, Jerome Xavier's Persian history of Christ,¹ under the title '*Historia Christi persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata*;' also the same author's history of S. Peter, under the title '*Historia S. Petri sed contaminata*.' In his preface to the former history De Dieu refers to Hay's version of the Provincial's letter of 1595, and in an Appendix quotes in full Oranus' version of the two letters from Lāhor of 1598-99. It is on De Dieu's reprint of these that Mr. Beveridge's article in *J. A. S. B.* 1888, I. 33, is based.

16. In 1710, a Jesuit father, Francisco *De Sousa* published in Portuguese, at Lisbon an account of the Missions which were carried on in the Province of Goa between 1564 and 1585. His book is called '*Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*,' and pages 146-172 of the second volume deal with the first Mission to Akbar. In the preface to his second volume he gives as his authorities (a) a MS. history by Father Sebastiano Gonçalves, Professor at Goa in 1593; (b) Bartoli's work, No. 14 above;

¹ A further notice of this work will be found at the end of the present paper.

(c) the 'History of the Company,' and (d) other documents 'da nossa Secretaria de Goa.'

17. In the general Jesuit histories the fullest account of these Missions appears to be that given by Jouvency, on pp. 449-460 of Part V of Orlandini's "*Historia Societatis Jesu*," published at Rome in 1710, but there is nothing in this account which is not derived from the authorities quoted above.

In addition to the above printed authorities there are several MS. letters in the British Museum Marsden Collection, No. 9854.¹ There is also a Portuguese or Spanish manuscript (dated Goa, 26 Nov., 1582) by an anonymous missionary, which was seen by Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein (Count von Noer), and was said by him to contain an admirable account of the condition of things at Akbar's Court, and to have been evidently used by Du Jarrie: it is not clear where this manuscript now is.²

THE FIRST MISSION, 1580-83.

Of the first Mission, the best and shortest account is Peruschi's, but further details are supplied by Guzman, who is mainly copied by Du Jarrie: Bartoli who writes later and more diffusely can only be accepted with caution as a supplement to the above.

From these authorities it would appear that Akbar's attention was first attracted towards Christianity by his hearing of the arrival of two Jesuits in Bengal in 1576: but he also received information regarding the Christian faith from an influential Portuguese subordinate of his own, called Peter Tavares, who is described as being in military charge of a port in Bengal.³ These circumstances induced him to summon from Bengal a priest called Julian Perreira,⁴ who arrived at Fathpur Sikri in

¹ The British Museum MSS. quoted in this paper have mainly been deciphered and translated for me by other hands, and I believe the translations to be substantially correct. There must be a certain number of other MS. letters of the period extant, which were written from Agra or Lahore or Goa: these are probably in Continental libraries.

² See Markham's Introduction to Limburg Brouwer's '*Akbar*' 1879. p. xxvi, and Noer *Kaiser Akbar* I. 489. Quotations are made from this MS. in Noer II. 11-12, 77-8, 81-2, and 97-8 regarding the Gujarāt and Kābul campaigns. The document which is possibly by Monserrat would perhaps throw light on the chronological difficulty referred to on p. 53 below.

³ Beveridge (*J. A. S. B.*, 1888, p. 34) suggests that Tavares may be the same as the Partāb Bār of the *Akbarnāma* (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 59). Manrique (*Itinerario*, p. 13-14) gives an account of Tavares. See also Murray's *Hist. Acct.* II. 99.

⁴ So called by Peruschi and by De Soasa (*Or. Cong.* II. 148); Bartoli gives the name as Egidio Anes Perreira. Du Jarrie (II. 438) says he was unable to discover the name of the priest. He was apparently not a Jesuit.

March, 1578. This priest occupied himself largely in exposing the errors of Muhammadanism (which Akbar had not as yet publicly renounced) and the Emperor was greatly interested and satisfied with what he taught him. We are told, that when the chief Mulla, 'the Sultān of Mecca'¹ defended his faith, the Emperor rose up and said 'May God help me! May God help me!' as though he were not content with the Mulla's defence: and it is recorded that many fruitless discussions between the priest and the Mullas were held in his presence. He went so far, however, as to ask the priest to teach him Portuguese, so that he might the better understand the doctrines of Christianity. The first thing he was taught was to pronounce the name of Jesus, and he took great pleasure in repeating the word many times.

About this period, during the year 1578, a Portuguese Embassy under Antony Cabral² arrived at the Court, and Akbar made enquiries from the members of the embassy regarding the Christian faith. Father Perreira, moreover, informed him of the Jesuit missionaries in the College of St. Paul at Goa and said that His Majesty would gain much by hearing what they could tell him of the Christian religion, for they were men of more learning than himself. On this Akbar despatched an ambassador to the Fathers³ at Goa and accredited him with the following firmān:—

(*Forman de Zeladin Mahamet Equebar.*)

Venerable Fathers of the order of St. Paul. Know this that in good friendship to you I have sent to you Abdulla my ambassador and Dominic Peres⁴ his interpreter to ask you to send me two Fathers well versed in letters who shall bring with them the principal books of your faith and the Gospels: as I have a great desire to know your faith and its perfection and pray you exceedingly that you fail not to send them with these same ambassadors. For I would have you know that the Fathers who shall come here shall be received of me with all honour and I shall take singular pleasure in seeing them. After I have been well informed of your faith and its perfection, as I wish, they may if they desire return when it seems good to them: and I shall send them back with much honour and courtesy. Let them not be afraid to come for I shall take them under my own protection.⁵

¹ No doubt this was Sultān Khwāja 'Abdul 'Azīm, who had been Mir Hajj, and returned from Makka in 1578. See Blochmann, *Āin* I. 423.

² Antony Cabral had negotiated a treaty at Damān in 1572. (*Danvers' Port. in India*, II. 4). *Danvers'* book does not however mention any Embassy in 1578.

³ Du Jarric II 440. Similar letters appear to have been sent to the Viceroy and Archbishop also (*Annuae Lit.* 1582).

⁴ Or Pires. Said by Bartoli (p. 9, *Missione*) to have been an Armenian Christian. He married a native wife in 1582 (see p. 57 below) and accompanied the third mission (p. 64 below).

⁵ Fr. DeSousa adds the date 'Decembre 1578.'

The embassy arrived at Goa in Sept. 1579 and an account of its honourable reception will be found in Bartoli's '*Missione al Gran Mogor.*' The Viceroy we are told was averse to sending a mission, but he handed the matter over for decision to a committee of Bishops, and this committee decided on 10th November, 1579, in favour of the despatch of a mission.¹ The fathers selected for service on the mission were Rodolfi Aquaviva,² Antonio Monserrat, and Francis Henriquez.

[Of these, Henriquez was a Persian convert from Muḥammadanism and the other two were both remarkable men. Monserrat had been in the monastery of S. Martha in Lisbon in 1569 when the great plague devastated that city and had displayed great zeal and courage in collecting and housing the waifs and orphans left destitute in the streets. After his return from Akbar's Court he was ordered to Abyssinia and while coasting round Arabia was seized by Arabs and imprisoned by them for six years, till ransomed in 1596. On his return to Goa he was posted to Salsette to recover his health '*tanquam in asylum quietis causa,*' but was overtaken by death in that station in 1600. His comrade Rodolfi Aquaviva was an even more ardent missionary. Born in 1550, the son of the Duke of Atri and nephew of Claude, subsequently General of the Society, he had entered the Society against the wishes of his parents: and in spite of his delicate health entreated to be sent to bear testimony to his Saviour in the East. He arrived at Goa in the same month as Akbar's embassy and at once applied to be sent to the Mughal Court. Though only 30 years of age he was given charge of the mission and we shall see below with what zeal he conducted it and how by his pure and austere life he endeared himself to the Emperor. He had scarcely returned to Goa in 1583, when he was sent to Salsette and there on the 15th July of the same year was killed by a native mob.]

The Mission started on December 13th 1579, accompanied by Akbar's ambassador and his interpreter. A detailed account of the journey is given (from what source is not stated) on pp. 150-166 of De Sousa's '*Oriente Conquistado*' vol. II. (cf Murray's '*Discoveries in Asia*' II. 83), from which the route appears to have been by Surat, Uzen (Ujain), Serampur (Sárangpur), Surange (Sironj) and Narwar.³

¹ DeSousa, *Or. Cong.* II 150.

² Both his names are so spelt by himself in his MSS. letter of 27 September, 1582.

³ Wilford, in *Asiatick Researches* IX. 212, quotes information recorded by 'Monserrat when he was at Dilli at the Court of Acbar' and adds: 'In speaking of the tombs and other monuments or events in India, Father Monserrat says with much candour "I was told so in the country" or "I was advised of it by respectable persons but whether it be so or not I cannot further say."' He explains himself

On the 18th February 1580, Aquaviva¹ reached Fatḥpur Sikrī where he was most hospitably received. As the members of the mission limited themselves to the barest necessities of life they refused to accept a sum of money which was sent to them, and their life of self-denial greatly impressed the Emperor. Three or four days later they presented him with a copy of the Bible in four languages, bound handsomely in seven volumes.² These the Emperor received with great reverence, kissing each volume and lifting it to his head. He asked which volume contained the Gospel and on being told took it up once more and kissed it. He was then presented with a picture of Christ and another of the Virgin—the latter being a copy of the S. Maria Maggiore at Rome,³—which he also kissed reverently and gave to his sons to kiss. He subsequently commanded his painters to copy the pictures of Christ and of the Virgin which the Fathers had with them, and ordered the construction of a reliquary of gold with the figures of Christ and of the Virgin graven on either side. He also removed the Fathers from their noisy house in the city and gave them accomodation in the palace, where they built a small chapel. This chapel the Emperor visited with his sons—known to the Jesuits as *Shaiḥhjī*, *Pahārī* and *Dan*⁴—and paid every sort of respect to the place, even taking off his turban in deference to European custom. He also gave orders that his second son Sulṭān Murād (*Pahārī*) should be instructed in the Portuguese language and good morals, an ungrateful task which fell to the lot of Father Monserrat

in these terms with reference to thirteen figures in *basso relievo* upon the rocks at Gwāliar, which he visited on his way from Surāt to Delhi and which were supposed by Christians in India to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples; one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest: Monserrat says they were so much defaced that no inference could be drawn from them except there being thirteen in number (p. 164). The MS. of Monserrat here quoted (which Wilford says was in his own possession see p. 230 *ib.*) has it seems disappeared; if indeed it ever existed, for Wilford was an imaginative writer. cf. Notes and Queries, Feb. 1870 p. 161.

¹ Monserrat being ill, remained for a time at Narwar. There was a native Christian community at Narwar in the time of Father Tieffenthaler S. J. circa 1750 A. D. See *Proc. A. S. B.* 1872, p. 59.

² This may have been the Complutensian Polyglott published at Alcalá in 1514-7 in six volumes, or Montanus' Polyglott published at Antwerp in 1569-73 in eight volumes. Both these were in four languages: Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin and Greek. See also p. 69 below.

³ The black Byzantine Virgin in the Borghese Chapel of the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, said to have been painted by S. Luke.

⁴ *Shaiḥhjī* or *Shaiḥhū* was Prince Salīm, the future Emperor Jahāngīr, then aged 11. *Pahārī* was prince Murād, aged 10, so called from his being born among the low hills of Fatḥpur. *Dan* was Dānyāl, then aged 9.

rat;¹ and it was during one of these lessons that the incident related by Badāuni (page 41 above) is said by the Fathers to have taken place. The Jesuit version is that the Prince in writing Portuguese was taught to begin with the words 'In the name of God' and that when the Emperor heard this he at once ordered him to add the words 'and of Jesus Christ, the true Prophet and Son of God.'

The Emperor allowed the Fathers full liberty to preach and to make conversions. When a Portuguese died at Court the Emperor allowed him to be buried with all publicity, a large procession marching through the town with crucifixes and lighted tapers. He also allowed the Fathers to build a hospital out of the subscriptions collected from Portuguese residents, and to conduct what would now be called a 'medical mission'. In matters of difficulty he bade them consult Abū-l-faẓl and confide their troubles to him as they would to himself. Abū-l-faẓl, we are told, sought instruction from them regarding the faith, but the Fathers doubted 'whether he did so in order to embrace Christianity or in order to please the Emperor and be able to give him information on the subject as occasion offered.' In any case the fathers received many favours from him, as also from the Emperor's physician.²

Meantime there were constant disputes with the Muhammadans. We have but to read the letter³ sent by Aquaviva to the Rector at Goa in September 1580 to see how unswerving, and even rancorous, was the abhorrence felt towards Islām by that enthusiastic priest. 'They call Jesus a prophet,' he writes, 'they deny him the title of Son of God. I know not such a Jesus. I cannot speak of Jesus save as God's Son. But when to soothe my spirit I say 'Jesus Christ the Son of God,' then is my affliction multiplied, for one cries out 'Stafarla' [*Istaghfaru-llāh*] an exclamation of disgust: another closes his eyes: one laughs, another blasphemes.' And so on. We can imagine Badāuni's attitude!—The details of these public disputes have been in some measure preserved, and we learn how Father Rodolfi attacked the morals of Muḥammad, the material pleasures of his paradise, the want of continuity between the Hebrew scriptures and Muḥammad's revelation, and so forth. All this was put forward with so much zeal that the Emperor had privately to warn the Father to be more temperate, and there seems to have been little enough of the calmness so praised by Abu-l-faẓl in the passage quoted at p. 42 above. As regards the ordeal by fire, however, (p. 41 above) the Jesuit version of the story is that the idea originated with the Emperor himself and that the Christian Fathers had the good

¹ 'Ventura' in Noer II. 331 seems to be a mistake for 'Montserrat.'

² We have no means apparently of identifying this physician.

³ Bartoli, *Missione* p. 197.

sense to refuse to submit to this form of test.¹ They had indeed enough to suffer, though not enough for their leader. In his letters to Rome Rodolfi writes that in spite of all their trials they had remained firm, '*Confessi sumus at non negavimus*' and that although abused, called Kāfirs, pelted with filth and hated by all, they counted it as nought, remembering '*Nondum usquē ad sanguinem restitimus*'.²

Regarding the Emperor's attitude towards the contending faiths we are given some interesting accounts. That he had no respect for Islām was clear enough, but the question was how far he was prepared to conform to Christianity. He himself stated perfectly candidly that he found the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation to be stumbling blocks, and that, if he could accept these, he was ready to give up his kingdom, if need be, to embrace Christianity. The Jesuit writings however maintain that there were three other obstacles in the way. In the first place, Akbar was a bad listener and never heard an explanation to the end, before starting a new subject. Secondly, he was quite unable to give up the plurality of wives. And thirdly, he was seeking a sign, like that of the fire ordeal, and no sign was given him. The Fathers writing from Fathpur are said to have described Akbar's religious position as follows (*hunc in modum*)³:—

'The Emperor is not a Muhammadan, but is doubtful as to all forms of faith and holds firmly that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all something to offend his reason and intelligence. Nevertheless he at times admits that no faith commends itself so much to him as that of the Gospel, and that when a man goes so far as to believe this to be the true faith and better than others, he is near to adopting it. At the court some say he is a heathen and adores the sun. Others that he is a Christian. Others that he intends to found a new sect. Among the people also there are various opinions regarding the Emperor: some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Muhammadan. The more intelligent however consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Muhammadan, and hold this to be truest. Or they think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity.'

Whatever the precise phase of Akbar's belief may have been at this time, it is certain that these first signs of free-thinking on his part

¹ Peruschi, p. 14: Bartoli, p. 65. A similar story is told of the reign of Jahāngīr—see Bernier, II. 83 (Amst. Ed. 1723).

² See the extracts from his letters from Fathpur to Everard Mercurianus (then General of the Society) and to his uncle Claude; Bartoli, *Missione* pp. 87-88. These extracts contain nothing of historical interest.

³ Peruschi, p. 12. (It is uncertain how far the quotation goes). The Jesuit Catrou, writing a century later, gives further details, including imaginary conversations between Akbar and the Fathers: these it seems unnecessary to quote here.

were most distasteful to the Muhammadans, and a powerful court party, including his mother and aunt (recently returned from pilgrimage to Makka) and the whole influence of the zanāna did its best to thwart his supposed leanings towards Christianity.¹ It is to the odium occasioned by these proclivities that the Jesuit authorities ascribe the rebellion of the Paṭhāns in Bengal and the revolt of the Emperor's brother Mīrzā Hakīm at Kābul, which took place about this time:² and they state that in consequence of these disturbances and in order to allay the suspicions of the Muhammadans, the Emperor ceased to see the Pādres and refused them admittance to his presence. When the Emperor after defeating his brother on the North-Western Frontier returned to his capital, they asked Abū-l-faẓl to ascertain whether he would see them, as otherwise there was no use in their staying on: and it was only when thus pointedly addressed, that Akbar renewed his intercourse with them.³

But the Emperor's attitude was no longer what it had been toward the Fathers, and Monserrat found that the Princes also listened less readily to Christian teaching than they did before the revolts. The Fathers despaired of any result from the mission and Aquaviva repre-

¹ This is what the Jesuit records say and they make no mention, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any Christian wife of Akbar's. Mr. Fanthome in his *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly the existence of a Christian wife called Mary (apart from Mariamu-z-zamāni); he says that the mission of 1580 erected their chapel in Mary's Kōṭhī at Fathpur (pp. 13 and 24) and that the captives taken away by Aquaviva in 1583 were Mary's slaves (p. 26), but does not give his authorities. He says also that he has seen a document of Shāh Ālam's declaring that the priests were granted a pension by the influence of the said Mary (p. 6). There is indeed a tradition that the Fathers were assisted by a Christian lady-doctor in Akbar's zanāna called Juliana, who married the exile John Philip Bourbon (and who must not be confused with another Juliana who lived in Shah Ālam's time). Fanthome (p. 16) mentions this tradition, and the Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Agra writing in 1832 to the traveller Dr. Wolff (see Wolff's *Researches and Travels*, 1835) also alluded to it, saying that the Jesuits first gained Akbar's favour 'per impegno di una certa Signora Giuliana di Goa che come Dottoressa si trovava nel seraglio del sudditto Imperatore.' Colonel Kincaid in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1887, adds that Juliana was sister to Akbar's Christian wife: but she is not noticed by the Jesuit letters of Akbar's reign though her husband was, like Xavier, a Navarrais.

² Cf. Noer. II. 18.

³ This is Du Jarric's account. Other authors make it appear that Monserrat at least, if not Aquaviva also, accompanied the Emperor on his Kābul expedition (Bartoli, *Missione* p. 54. DeSousa, *Or. Conq.* II 171. Wilford in *As. Res.* IX, 230; see also p. 63 below), but the various stories are not very clear or consistent on this point. Akbar was away on the Kābul expedition for nearly the whole of 1581—not apparently, 1582, as stated in Professor Dowson's *Note* on p. 421, vol. V, Elliot's *Hist. Ind.*, and in Noer. II. 74. But the chronology is a little confused.

sented to the Emperor that, inasmuch as for reasons of state he was unable to profess his acceptance of Christianity the mission would be more profitably employed in some other sphere. The Emperor however refused to let the Fathers go. They thereupon made further efforts to influence him towards Christianity, but it was felt that they were being retained merely to gratify his pride and to satisfy his intermittent thirst for information. It is possible also that the open adoption of the 'Divine Monotheism' which took place about this time brought more clearly before the Fathers the hopelessness of their task.¹

From this point the mission began to break up. The native Henriquez had already withdrawn to Goa, either secretly as one authority states, or with permission as stated by another. Then Monserrat had left Fatḥpur for Agra so as to be rather with Prince Murād than with the Emperor. Subsequently in April 1582, the Emperor sent an embassy to Goa and permitted Monserrat to accompany it. The embassy was to arrange among other things for a fresh mission of Christian priests to Akbar's court, and the letter which accompanied the embassy is to be found in the first daftar of the *Inshā-i-Abū-l-fazl*. In the Calcutta edition of 1810 and in the Cawnpore lithographed edition of 1849-50, the letter is addressed to 'European scholars' (*Dānāyān-i-Farang*), but there are other versions which read 'Ruler of the Europeans' (*Firmān-riwā-i-Farang*)² and the later European authorities³ represent the embassy as an embassy of congratulation to Philip II, who had in 1581 become King of Portugal as well as of Spain. In the course of the letter Akbar describes his desire to learn the truth in religious matters⁴:—

'Therefore,' he says, 'we associate at convenient seasons with learned men of all religions and thus derive profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspirations. Our language, however, being different from yours, we hope that you will rejoice us by sending to these parts a man able to represent to us those sublime objects of research in an intelligible manner. It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Psalms have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books which are profitable to all, whether translated or not, be procurable in your country, send them. Dated in the month Rabī-ul-awwal in the year 990' (March-April 1582).

¹ See Catrou, English Edition, 1826, p. 121, and Badāunī quoted on p. 201 vol. I. Blochm. *Āin*.

² Fraser, *Nādir Shāh* (1742) 12. and appx. 40. Hough, *Christianity in India*, II. 262.

³ Catrou, English Edition, 1826, p. 124. Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 72: Hanway's *Travels* II. 405. Bartoli mentions also the Pope and the General of the Society as the intended recipients of the embassy.

⁴ The translation is that given by Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary*, April 1887, p. 137.

The ambassador, we are told,¹ reached Goa too late in the season to be embarked for Lisbon, and while waiting at Goa he contrived excuses for postponing his departure to Europe, until ultimately he found it necessary to return from Goa to Akbar's Court without achieving the object of his embassy.

Meanwhile, even in the hour of failure Aquaviva did not himself abandon hope. Here for instance, is an extract from a letter which he wrote to his uncle, then General of the Order, at the very time that the Embassy was leaving Faṭḥpur.²

'First,' he writes, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore: he desires to know our faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto though impediments also are not lacking. And the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. 2. We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahārī, a boy of 13 years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language, and therewith the things relating to our faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto, and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrat was his teacher, and now I am. 3. We have discovered a new nation of heathen, called Bottan [Paṭhān] which is beyond Lāhōr toward the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works.³ They are white men and Muhammadans (Mori) do not live among them, wherefore we hope that, if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathen may be reaped. 4. There is here an old man,⁴ the father of the Emperor's Secretary, in whom he confides in matters of faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given to much contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our faith and we have already visited him several times at his house, with much consolation. 5. Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia; and now that the Society has obtained a footing, and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the Continent of India: seeing that all that has so far been done has been merely on the sea coast.'

¹ Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 72.

² Letter, dated April 1582. Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 70.

³ De Sousa *Or. Conq.* II. 171, quotes another description of the Paṭhāns which he ascribes to Monserrat. It seems more faithful than that given above, for it states among other things that the Paṭhāns have such a fear of polluting the pure element of water that they never apply it to their bodies. There seems in the books of the period to be some confusion between Paṭhāns and Bhūṭānīs, see e.g., Wheeler's *Purchas*, p. 14.

⁴ This is apparently none other than Shaiḫ Mubārak father of Abū-l-faẓl. He was then 79 years old and did not die till eleven years later in 1593 (Blochm. *Āin*, p. 18).

It appears that the Provincial at Goa obtained verbally from Monserrat a less hopeful report, and again recalled Aquaviva, but again without success. From March 1582, onwards therefore, Aquaviva was alone at the Court. His zeal was thereby only increased. Attempts were made on his life but he refused to have a guard. He set himself to study Persian so as to be able to converse freely with the Emperor. He prayed long and earnestly for the success of his mission. He fasted rigorously and shut himself up in his house, practising the most severe austerities. The conduct of the Emperor meantime caused him much disappointment, and there seem also to have been other special troubles, which led the Father to wish more and more for his recall. The following letter,¹ written on the 27th September 1582, affords the only original account of this stage of the mission which we possess. It is addressed to Father Ruy Vincente, the Provincial at Goa, and runs as follows:—

‘You are already informed by other letters of mine that a learned man called Mx² (whom Father Monserrat calls by another name), a self-sufficient doctor, told me that he wished to become a Christian, and things went so far that the Emperor hearing of it gave his permission. But from what I understand of him, it was not his intention to embrace Christianity here, but if he did so it would be in a Christian country. He said that the Emperor in these embroilments with Domingo Pires³ very imprudently betrays all those who wish to be Christians, being by nature unable to keep anything to himself, but that it might give edification if a man of such consideration and follower of Muḥammad should desire to embrace Christianity. It seems to me much to be regretted that it was ever made public, as he dissimulates and does not converse with me as formerly. I write nothing further to Your Reverence concerning this man, for I doubt if he has any vocation, and there are many things about him that do not please me. Time will show what is to be expected of him.

‘A few days after the trouble with the Emperor because of Domingo Pires, one of the principal chiefs came from Bengal, a very learned man, a follower of the Ṣūfīs, and knowing something of philosophy. The Emperor sent for me and told me in secret to converse with him, as perhaps he might become a Christian. The Emperor said I was the Father of whom he had spoken, and bade us converse together, which we did. He showed himself very conformable to our doctrine, as do all the Ṣūfīs, but the most of them do not believe in Christianity and are hypocrites, who only feign conversion.

‘The Emperor brings confusion into the Court by the many novelties daily introduced: among other things, the giving praise to creatures as the

¹ Marsd. MSS. Brit. Mus. 9854.

² *Sic* in MS.

³ The interpreter to the mission, see p. 48 above. We do not know what embroilments are referred to, possibly they were connected with the marriage described later on in this letter.

Sun and Moon, and abstaining from meat from Saturday night and all Sunday. I have certain information that many of the heathen out of superstition, because it is the day of the Sun and Moon, eat absolutely nothing. In general it is forbidden to kill any meat in the market, and we are generally unable to get any to eat on Sundays.

‘Two or three days after their Lent has commenced, a new Easter has been introduced called ‘Merjan,’¹ on which it is commanded that all the chiefs be dressed out in State, and listen to music and dances. I enquired of the Emperor’s astrologers, and they told me that it was a feast observed by the ancient fire-worshipping kings of Persia. The Muhammadans were very scandalized and would not imitate the observers of the feast, they cannot understand whether they do these things because they like them or whether they do them by way of experiment. In truth, I also cannot understand the matter, for the Emperor converses with me familiarly, as he has done this rainy season, always enquiring into the faith, and yet he seems confused with other things, and confessed to me one day that he would be much surprised if one could really discern the truth.².....

‘On Tuesday, the 24th of September, the Emperor came in the afternoon to see the marriage of Domingo Pires in our chapel. We decorated the chapel very well and painted two trophies in his honour, and Domingo Pires ordered a Portuguese banquet to be prepared for him at our house. The Emperor was delighted with everything and showed me much affection for entertaining him to the best of my power. At the marriage I preached a sermon to the couple; the woman did not understand me, and the Emperor interpreted to her in her own language what I was saying in Persian. The Emperor remained in our house till nearly eight o’clock at night. With great pleasure he brought to the house all the principal chiefs of the Muhammadans and the heathen. One of the heathen, a ruler in these lands, was much amazed and made a jest of the chapel. Others, children of the Emperor, were present and dined at the house, as well as two of the principal Muhammadan chiefs whom the Emperor sent for.

‘I have nothing further to write to Your Reverence, excepting the following things: 1st. If it seems to you that I am absolutely nothing here, let Your Reverence seek a remedy, for the Emperor takes no notice of my asking his leave, and for me to press the point only exasperates him. Your Reverence knows I am indifferent, and my indifference is increased by my being in doubt and not knowing the wish of God with regard to this mission. The second matter is to ask Your Reverence to inform me what you think about the church which the Emperor desires to have built. Up to the present nothing has been signified in your letters concerning it. The third is that Your Reverence will have the charity to let me know how to proceed, for I fear that the Emperor and some of his wish to make use of me to explain the law of

¹ Mihrjān, the Persian feast of the autumnal equinox: the Muhammadan Lent, the month of Ramzān, began in 1582 on the 19th September.

² I omit a marginal addition which is too defaced in the original to admit of the sense being ascertained.

Muhammad and to take what pleases them in Sacred Scripture to pervert to other ends than the favour of our Faith, and I must take care that the Emperor does not come out some day with a novelty. The fourth is to ask a general permission of Your Reverence for every time that I can conveniently, with the Emperor's permission, come and see you : and to know by whom I should or should not send to you : for I have many things to communicate regarding this mission, which I have discovered since I learnt the language and continue to discover daily : in which it is necessary to show great prudence, discretion and consideration in managing the affairs of this mission : and these perhaps will not be wanting if, when all things are explained, Your Reverence will send your advice and orders ; that with new strength and spirit we may carry out the mission and not abandon this depraved sect in spite of the many difficulties which we always meet with.

'And now I shall propose a means which has occurred to me. It is to open a school at Goa, of Persian for the Muhammadans, and of Hindūstānī¹ for the heathen, for all my children, heathen and Muhammadan, as this seems to be the only available means, if it could be managed ; especially as the Emperor says publicly that he wishes all in his dominions to follow what faith they please. And with this I shall conclude, begging Your Reverence's blessing, ministrations and prayers, and those of all. This day the 27th September, 1582.

'As the Emperor writes² that Your Reverence will know from me why he has not dismissed the neighbouring chiefs and enemies³ from their offices, I write to you what the Emperor tells me, *viz.*, that he did not dismiss them then because of the Faith, but he will find some other fault with them as an excuse for their dismissal, and he is already preparing the way to dismiss Calich [Qulij-khān]⁴ as I myself have seen, but as yet I do not know what he will do.

'The day before yesterday news came of the capture of the ships of the.....[a few words are here torn]. The Emperor has not yet spoken to me of this, but as I am writing, the Emperor's mother⁵ has sent for me. Your Reverence's Christian servant, Rodolfi.'

¹ *I. e.*, the native language : not Urdū, cf. p. 72 below.

² Referring apparently to a separate letter from the Emperor to the Provincial or Viceroy.

³ *s.c.* those in the Deccan.

⁴ Qulij-khān had been Governor of Surat. So far from being dismissed, he continued to receive promotion ; Blochm. *Āin* i. 34, see also p. 86 below. 'Calich' may however mean 'Calichan,' regarding whom see Danver's *Port. in Ind* II. 42-3.

⁵ The lady known as Mariam-makānī (dwelling with the Virgin Mary). In describing Akbar's well known devotion to his mother, Coryate (*Observations*, p. 600, vol. i of Purchas) writes : 'He never denyed her anything but this, that she demanded of him, that our Bible should be hanged about an Assess necke and breten about the Town of Agra, for that the Portugals having taken a ship of theirs at sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores tyed it about the necke of a dogge

The Provincial seems to have authorized Aquaviva to obtain from the Emperor a temporary leave of absence, if he could not obtain permission to depart altogether. The Emperor, who appears to have entertained a real respect for him, was still loth to let him go, but at last, in February 1583, he allowed him to proceed to Goa on the understanding that he should if possible return. The following is a translation of a Portuguese version of the firmān addressed by Akbar to the Father Provincial on this occasion¹:—

‘God is great.

Firmān of Jalālu-d-dīn also called Akbar, Pādshāh Ghāzī. By the books of the faith and their interpretation I know that there is nothing pertaining to the Christian faith which remains obscure, but that it is a manifestation of divine secrets. The Father Provincial, whom I greatly love, must know that I have received the petition sent to me and look well upon it, and by it our friendship is increased. And concerning the leave which you ask for Father Rodolfi, I am delighted with the book of the faith of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to possess the truth, and as the said Father is very learned and versed in the wisdom of the ancients, and as I love him much and see that he is wise and learned in the faith, I wish to devote every hour to conversation with him. For these reasons I have sometimes refused the leave which he asked for and which your Reverence also in your letter desired. But now I give him leave to go: and as my intention is that our friendship should increase from day to day it is meet that your Reverence should do your part towards preserving it by sending Father Rodolfi back to me, with several other Fathers, as soon as possible, for I wish the Fathers of your Society to be with me, and I take great delight in them. I have told the Father many things by word of mouth that he might repeat them to Your Reverence, the which you will consider well.

Done in the moon of the month of February 1583.’

Aquaviva, we are told, was pressed to receive a parting present, but the only gift he would accept was the permission to take with him to Goa, a family of Russian slaves who had been for a long time in the Emperor’s household, with this parting gift from the great Mogul he started for Goa, and arrived there in May 1583 looking, it was said, not like a man from a court but like one who had come straight from the penances of a novitiate. In September of the same year, as has already been noticed, he was murdered at Salsette.

and beat the same dogge about the Town of Ormuz: but he denyed her request, saying that if it were ill in the Portugals to do so to the Alcoran, it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent Booke.’

¹ See Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS. 9854, fol. 5.

THE SECOND MISSION, 1590-91.¹

We hear nothing further of Akbar's relations towards the Christians till 1590, in which year, we are told, he began to show unmistakable signs of a distinct leaning towards Christianity. There being then at his court a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon,² returning from, we know not where, to his native country, the Emperor took the opportunity of sending him to Goa with letters for the Viceroy and for the Father of the Society, asking for a further mission to his court. Translations of the warrant of safe conduct given to Grimon and of the letter which he took to the Fathers have been preserved and run as follows³ :—

Parwāna of Akbar granted to Leo Grimon.

Order of His Highness Muḥammad, great King and Lord of the Foslira,⁴ to all the Captains, Viceroys, Governours, rulers and other officers of my realm.

'I would have you know that I have shown much honour and favour to Dom Leo Grimon, willing thereby that you should do likewise, inasmuch as I hope to obtain by his means certain other learned Fathers from Goa, by whom I trust to be restored from death unto life through their holy doctrine even as their Master Jesus Christ, coming from Heaven to Earth, raised many from the dead and gave them life. On this occasion I am summoning the most learned and virtuous of the Fathers, by whom I would be taught many things concerning the faith of the Christians and of the royal highway whereon they travel to God's presence. Wherefore I order my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending, in all the towns of my realm through which they shall pass, granting them an escort to conduct them safely from town to town, providing them with all that is necessary for themselves and their beasts, and all else they need, at my charges: and you shall be responsible for their safe arrival and shall take heed that they lose nothing which they have with them. I order also my captain Khānkhānār (mon Capitaine Canchena)⁵ to forward them safely to my Captain Raizza (?)⁶, who

¹ Our chief authorities for the mission are the Provincial's letters of November 1590 and November 1591, published by Spitilli, with their enclosures. The accounts by Guzman and Du Jarric are little more than copies of these.

² We hear of Grimon again in 1602 when he accompanied Benedict de Goes as far as Kābul, turning back there because 'unable to stand the fatigues of the journey' (Trigautius, in Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, II 553-7.).

³ Translated from Du Jarric's French version.

⁴ So Du Jarric. The Latin has Foslira. Perhaps 'Faṣlī era' is meant.

⁵ Mirza 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Khān, son of Bairām Khān, and commander in Gujrāt.

⁶ Perhaps Rai Singh of Bikānīr. Blochm. *Āin* I. 357. I am unable to identify Giabiblica unless he be Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh. (Blochm. *Āin* I. 327.)

with the other Captains shall do likewise until they reach my court. I enjoin also Giabiblica (?) the Captain of Cambay, to furnish whatsoever they need in going or coming. I also forbid my customs officers to take anything from the said Fathers, whose baggages they shall let pass without toll: and the aforesaid shall pay heed to my commandment, troubling the said Fathers neither in their persons nor in their property. If they make any complaint you shall be severely punished, even to the danger of your heads. Moreover I desire that this my order be carried out in respect both of their persons and of their goods, that they pass freely through my towns without paying tax or toll and be well guarded on their road. They shall be conducted from Cambay to Aḥmadābād, and thence to Paian [Pattan] and thence to Gelu [? Jalor] from Gelu to Guipar [?] and from Guipar to Bīkānīr whence they shall go to Bitasser [? Jalasīr] from Bitasser to Multān, and from Multān to Lahorē where we reside. For this is the route by which I would have the Fathers come. Whom I hope by God's aid to see shortly at this Court when they shall be received by me and mine as their worth deserveth.'

Letter from Akbar to the Fathers of the Society at Goa.

'In the name of God.

The exalted and invincible Akbar to those that are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit, and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and conduct men to God. I say to you, learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honour of earth: Fathers who walk by the true way: I would have Your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammadans, save only that of Jesus Christ which is the faith of God and as such recognized and followed by many. Now in that I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers I desire that by them I may be taught this faith. There has recently come to our Court and royal Palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so your Reverences will be able immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors, whom we call Qāzīs, and whom by this means they can teach the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live as nobly as any Father now in this country, and when they wish to leave, I shall let them depart with all honour. You should therefore do as I ask, and the more willingly because I beg of you the same, in this letter written at the commencement of the moon of June.'

The following is the account of the receipt of this invitation, written by the Provincial in his report of November 1590¹ :—

‘It is now nearly nine years since the Great Mogul Akbar summoned to his Court some Fathers of the Society of Jesus, including Father Rodolfi Aquaviva. The same Prince has now in this year, under God’s guiding, again written to the Viceroy at Goa, asking for Fathers for his Court and using the same arguments as before. The letter was brought by a Greek sub-deacon of the name of Leo Grimon, who while returning to his country happened to go aside to the Court of the Mughal and the Emperor hoping thereby to attain his end added presents for the Viceroy and the College, and some even for the Father Provincial. He desired besides to load the sub-deacon with 5000 gold pieces for the poor of Goa, and when the latter suggested that the Emperor had poor in his own kingdom on whom the money could be spent, he answered that he would never waste money on slaves of the devil. But when the sub-deacon drew attention to the risk he would run in carrying this amount of money over so great a distance of road, the Mogul ordered him to be given precious stones and other articles of the value of 2000 gold pieces and the amount was distributed to the poor at Goa, who were then much in want. He also sent to the Viceroy at Cambay an order (of which a copy is enclosed)² to the effect that the Fathers when passing through Cambay to his Court, should be treated courteously and furnished with a guard and rations. And from what the sub-deacon tells us at Goa, it appears that this excellent Emperor is most anxious to establish the fundamental truths of Christianity, and has induced the Prince his son, and his chief general to hold the same views. On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin he held a festival, setting forth in an elevated situation the picture of the Virgin which Father Rodolfi and his companions had given him, and called on his relations and courtiers to kiss the picture with due reverence. They had asked that the Prince his son should do so and he consented with the greatest alacrity. The Emperor turned all the mosques of the city where he lived into stables for elephants or horses, on the pretence of preparation for war. Soon however, he destroyed the Alcorans³ (which are the turrets from which the priests call with loud voices on Muḥammad), saying that if the mosques could no longer be used for prayer there was no need for the turrets: and this he did in his hatred for the Muhammadan sect and in his affection for the Gospel. The sub-deacon also said that the name of Muḥammad was as hated at the Mughal’s Court as in Christendom, and that the Emperor had restricted himself to one wife, turning out the rest and distributing them among his courtiers. Moreover that he had passed a law that no Muhammadan was to circumcise his son before the fifteenth year of his age, and that the sons should be at liberty on attaining years of discretion to embrace what religion they chose.

¹ Spitilli, *Brevis et compendiosa narratio*.

² See above.

³ An error for Manārs. Other writers of the period make the same mistake.

The magnificence and power of this Emperor are almost incredible. He is the greatest and most powerful of the Kings of the East and the lord of nine hundred miles of land whose dominion is bounded by the Indus and Ganges and extends to Tartary, including many noble realms and rich cities. Father Antony Monserrat states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition which he at one time made¹ he had with him five thousand fighting elephants exclusive of those used for baggage and that in the whole Empire there are fifty thousand Elephants stationed for warlike proposes at various centres.

Next year in November 1591 the Provincial reported as follows² :—

‘This embassy induced many not only of the Fathers, but also of the students to apply to be sent on the mission and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a Companion who reached the Emperor’s Court in 1591³ and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them, a house was given to them in the palace itself, necessities were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor’s own son and grandson were taught to read and write Portuguese. But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, to embrace the Christian faith, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so. Father Edward Leiton⁴ (who is one of the Fathers that remained there) being expressly ordered not to return, but to remain where he was. Father Christopher di Vega who returned with Father Leiton’s consent was sent back by me as he was a great favorite with the Emperor, and was told not to come away except it were under an oath that he would return. And since the hearts of Kings are in God’s hand we have decided with much inward waiting and firm hope of God’s goodness to continue this mission. And now our priests are occupied, as above noticed, in teaching the youths to read and write Portuguese and in other such duties, awaiting a convenient opportunity for speaking more freely with the Emperor on religious subjects; a matter hitherto rendered difficult by the opposition of the generals who are with him and in whose absence no audience is usually granted. And as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment it is necessary to proceed skilfully and gently in the matter.’

To this letter is appended an ‘*Annotatio Romae facta*’ :—

Nota bene. When Christopher Vega had returned to Goa a Portuguese brought a letter to Milan which implied that the Fathers had left the Mughal’s Court, but the above narration plainly shows that the writer of the letter was in error.

¹ Apparently when Monserrat accompanied Akbar to Lahore. See p. 54 above.

² The two letters in Spitilli’s book are not divided. The point of division selected above seems the most natural one.

³ Akbar returned from Kashmir to Lāhor in October 1590 and remained there till he started for Kashmir again in the spring of 1592.

⁴ Hough calls him Leighton and he may have been an Englishman but we seem to have no further particulars about him. In Latin he is called Leitanus.

It was not long however before the Fathers actually did come back. The mission came somehow to an abrupt conclusion, but we have no further details regarding the time of, or the reason for, its sudden termination.¹

THE THIRD MISSION 1595-1605.

There was obviously some disappointment at Goa, if not in Rome itself, at the break up of the Second Mission. It was still thought that Akbar was on the point of embracing Christianity. 'Venerunt filii usque ad partum,' says the chronicler, 'sed virtus non est pariendo.' There was considerable joy therefore when a third embassy from Akbar arrived in 1594,² bearing letters to the Viceroy which requested the despatch of a further mission. The Provincial was urged to comply and at once did so. The selection of a priest to conduct the mission was determined by lot and the lot fell on Jerome Xavier, a nephew of the great St. Francis, and at that time head of the Professorial House at Goa. With him were appointed Father Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes; and the party, taking with them the ornaments and vessels necessary for church worship and accompanied by the Armenian interpreter who had been with Aquaviva, embarked on their journey on the 3rd December, 1594.

[There can be little doubt that the members of the party were picked men. Jerome Xavier had entered the Society at Alcalá twenty six years previously and had spent most of his service in India, firstly as Rector at Bassein, then at Cochin and finally at Goa. Without possessing the enthusiastic asceticism of Aquaviva, he was an earnest man of mature age who had spent most of his life in teaching and who had enjoyed positions of trust. For twenty three years he was to remain at the Mogul Court; sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison; working sometimes for the spiritual conversion of Emperors, at other times for the material advancement of his compatriots: maintaining on the whole a prominent and honoured position, but like most of those who have striven with native courts, finding himself little more advanced at the end than at the beginning. At last in 1617, he returned to Goa, and died there on the 17th June of that year, being at the time Archbishop elect of Cranganore.³

¹ Possibly there was some difficulty about the mission accompanying Akbar to Kashmir whither he went in the spring of 1592.

² Early in 1594 Akbar had issued a decree that if any of the infidels wished to build a church or synagogue or idol temple or fire temple, none were to prevent them. *Bad.* (Bib. Ind.), II, 392.

³ See *Biographie Universelle* sv. and De Backer's *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liège 1861) serie 7, sv.

Of one of his companions, Pinheiro, we know little beyond what is shown in the letters quoted below. He seems to have been the first of the Jesuits on these missions to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than to the Court, and he was for many years pastor of a considerable congregation in Lāhor: but he also exercised a certain amount of influence with the Emperor.

The remaining member of the party, Benedict of Goes, was perhaps the most remarkable as he is certainly the best known of the three. Born at the Azores in 1562, he had served as a soldier in Portuguese India and had while in that position abandoned himself to a life of dissipation. When not yet twenty six years of age he had suddenly repented of his sins and had turned Jesuit. The mission to Lāhor was his first piece of notable service, but after eight years had passed the accounts received of the country of Thibet induced his superiors to send him on the adventurous journey with which his name is now chiefly associated. On January 6th, 1603, he started from Agra disguised as an Armenian and travelled by way of Kābul and Yārkanḍ through the heart of Thibet to Sao-chen on the confines of China, arriving there in 1607 only to die.¹

The Father Provincial's report of November 1595 with its enclosures.

Our first information regarding this mission is contained in a report² of November, 1595, from the Provincial at Goa to the General of the Society at Rome, which encloses three letters of great interest.

The Mission had gone by sea to Damān and thence to Cambay, and the first of the Provincial's enclosures is a letter despatched by Father Pinheiro from Cambay. He tells of the eagerness of the people to attend the services held by the Fathers, and describes among other curiosities the hospitals for animals and the customs of the Jain sectaries whom he calls 'Verteas.'³ At Cambay the Mission met the Emperor's second son, Sultān Murād, formerly Monserrat's pupil, who accorded to the Fathers a brief but favourable audience in the citadel on the evening before the Nativity, and shortly afterwards left the city for Surāt. But on New Year's day when he was only a league from Cambay, he sent a summons to the Fathers, which reached them at 3 A.M., while they were celebrating the feast of the Circumcision. Completing the service they hastened to the camp, where they found the Prince in full darbār and were interrogated by him regarding the climate and customs of Portugal,

¹ Yule's *Cathay and the way Thither* II 549-596.

² See Peruschi's *Historica Relatio*, (p. 43 above).

³ sc. ? Birtia. Their religion he says is contained in Gujarātī books (libris, litteris et notis Guzzarati) cf. p. 70 below.

the occupations of royalty in Europe, hunting, falconry, &c. Religion did not interest the Prince, and the Father writes of him ‘*Moscheis parum addictus est, sed nec unquam vidit. Totus est in venando et spatiando.*’

So far Pinheiro from Cambay. On November 6th 1595 the Provincial at Goa received two further letters reporting the arrival of the Mission at Lāhor, and these letters constitute the remaining enclosures of his communication to the General at Rome.

The former of the two letters is from Jerome Xavier and is dated from Lāhor the 20th August 1595. It is addressed to the General of the Society, and giving as it does a most interesting account of the reception of the Mission by Akbar it may be quoted in full:—

‘I wrote to Your Reverence,’ he says, ‘from Goa, describing how I was despatched under the holy discipline of our Society to the Court of the Great Mogul, and with what heartfelt zeal we started on our journey. Although this place is only three month’s distance from Goa we took five months to reach it. Our route by land took us for nearly 230 leagues through the Mogul’s territory. He received us publicly with great honour and kindness, and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of his Court. Hitherto he has spoken a little with us regarding the sum of the whole matter, but nothing regarding the Faith. He often times admonishes us with great kindness to learn the language so that he may speak to us without an interpreter on matters that touch his salvation. He has at the same time had us informed through one of his near friends whom he employs on matters of religion that if we knew Persian we should loose a great knot that now holds him bound. The king declares himself to be well affected toward matters touching the Christian faith. He has images of Our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin, which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe, and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in his arms for a long time in spite of the fatigue which their size entails. One day he came to our service and while we recited the Litanies he remained like a Christian prince with his knees bent and hands clasped. He spent no little time in observing carefully our pictures and enquired regarding the mysteries which they portray, In the month of August on the occasion of the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin he sent us his own pictures, although we had only hinted in the most distant way that we should like to have them: moreover he sent us very costly gold and silk cloths wherewith his own servants handsomely adorned our chapel, and he showed the greatest love and affection for the Blessed Virgin, which in very truth he feels. I say the same with respect to the Prince,¹ for he was seriously angry with our Muhammadan guide for bringing with him no image of the Mother of God, and when bidding another to make extensive purchases, he particularly ordered him

¹ Salīm, the future Emperor Jahāngīr.

not to fail to bring with him a fine picture of Our Lord, and as a Portuguese painter had come with us, he at once desired a copy to be painted of a picture of the Blessed Virgin which we had with us. So also when he came with his Royal Father to our Chapel, and saw there the child Jesus and a Crucifix, he immediately wished to have similar images made of ivory by his own workmen. This prince is about 30 years old¹ and shows great affection for us and easily obtains for us whatever we ask for from the Emperor. On the first day on which we addressed him, he promised us all that was necessary for the erection of a church and arranged with the Emperor to mark out a site for its construction. When the rainy season commenced, we ventured to remind him on the subject, and he reiterated his promise, adding that he would arrange with his father to appoint men at once to see to the business. The Emperor gave us leave to bring together as many as might so wish to the Church of Christ. He has utterly cast out Muḥammad (Mahumetam prorsus exterminavit) and leans toward the superstition of the Heathen, worshipping God and the Sun. He proclaims himself to be a prophet and declares that he does miracles, curing the sick by the water in which he washes his feet. Many women pay vows to him for the recovery of sons that are sick or for the power to produce children: and if successful they offer to him their votive gifts which, however small, are accepted by him with the greatest pleasure. The heathen are in great favour with him: so much so that it is wonderful that the Muhammadans endure it so long. The Prince too scoffs at Muḥammad. We are entirely occupied now in learning the Persian language, and our progress leads us to believe that by God's grace we shall have mastered it within a year, and then we shall be able to say that we are at Lāhor, for hitherto we have been, as it were, dumb statues, (et tunc dicere poterimus nos esse in Lahor: hactenus enim sumus velut statuæ mutæ). May God in his mercy look not on our sins but on the price with which He has redeemed the souls around us, and may he give to our tongues such strength and eloquence as may enable us to touch their hearts and reap for our labours the fruits which your Reverence and our whole Society expects. Wherefore we desire exceedingly to commend ourselves to the holy blessing and ministration and prayers of your Reverence. From the Court of Lāhor, the 20th August 1595.

If your Reverence would send to the Emperor and the Prince a beautiful and large picture of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity, they would receive the same with much affection and kindness. We would also that some little pictures were sent to us for certain Christians who ask eagerly for them.'

The second of the letters received at Goa from Lāhor in November 1595 is from Father Pinheiro. It is dated 'The Court of the Great Mogul, 3rd. Sept. 1895,' and is addressed 'ad P. Ioannem Aluaretz Assistentem'. The Father begins by describing the journey to Lāhor. On

¹ Jahāngīr was born in August 1569. and was therefore in his 26th year.

3rd. December 1594 the party had left Goa proceeding to Damān, and thence to Cambay and Aḥmadābād, and the Father repeats some of the information given in his letter from Cambay above quoted. He adds however a short sketch of the Jogīs of Gujarāt who he says, 'are like our monks', and refers to the veneration in which the cow is held. He also gives an interesting and enthusiastic description of the tomb of a certain 'Cazis, magister cujusdam regis Guzzarati', situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Aḥmadābād, 'opus inter Barbaros minime barbarum.'¹ On Mar. 19th. 1595 the party left Aḥmadābād, reaching Pattan on the 24th which was Easter Eve according to the Gregorian calendar. The Fathers had great difficulty in persuading the Armenians in the caravan to celebrate Easter on the following day, but ultimately they all agreed, 'ex mero timore quia redeundum illis erat per terram nostram vel quia cesserant veritati,' except one old man (excepto uno doctore vetulo pertinace) who celebrated his own Easter by himself later on. The cities they passed through were utterly ruined, and the people were heathen though the chief buildings were mosques; food ran short, the heat was intense, the mirages were very irritating, and they were all glad when on May 5th 1595 they entered Lāhor.²

There the Fathers were honourably received by the Emperor :—

'He ordered,' writes Pinheiro, 'that we should lodge in a part of the spacious palace which he himself inhabits, near to the river which passes at a distance of fifteen spans. In size the river equals a lake. No one may enter to us except Christians coming to Mass and such heathen and Muham-madans as we may permit, for the guards bar the way to all others. On the evening following our arrival the Emperor called us and showed us pictures of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, and held them in his arms with as much reverence as though he were one of our priests. When we saw the holy pictures we knelt down, and seeing this the Emperor's ten-year-old grandson,³ the Prince's son, also clasped his hands and bent his knees: whereon the Emperor was delighted and said to the prince 'Look at your son.' These same pictures the Emperor delivered to us at the Festival of the Blessed Virgin to be deposited in our chapel. Then he showed us his books which were many and good. Such as the Royal Bible, then other Bibles, Concordances, four parts of the Summa of S. Thomas, one work against the heathen and another against the Jews and Saracens &c., Soto, S. Antoninus, the Histo-

¹ Apparently the tomb of Ganj Bakhsh, though the description does not quite tally.

² The route followed from Pattan is not stated. The party had intended to go by Sindh (that is apparently viā Tatta and Multān), but the Governor was too engaged in keeping the Ramzān to attend to them.

³ Khusrū was born in 1587-9: the exact date is not known (Bl. *Āin*. I, 310): he would therefore not be more than 8 years old.

ria Pontificum, the Chronica of S. Francis, Sylvester, Navarrus, and Caietanus—these two in duplicate. Also the Laws of Portugal, the Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, the Constitutions of the Society, and the Exercitia, and the ‘Ars’ of Father Alvarez and several other books.¹ He gave us as many as we asked for, to wit all the above mentioned. Both Emperor and Prince favoured us and treated us with much kindness: and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desires us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit. It is his custom to go out to a certain dāis which projects into the Courtyard of the Palace, whither all the Governors and a large number of others collect to meet him: and thither we also went sometimes to see him. When he observed us he greeted us with great kindness, bowing his head, and bade us come near and take a convenient seat: an honour which he does not show even to the kings and princes that stand at his side.’

Pinheiro goes on to describe the great gifts brought to Akbar, and more particularly the manner in which he received, on the 28th August 1595, the penitent Viceroy of Qandahār,² and the gifts he received from him and from the Prince Sultān Murād, the Viceroy of Bengal and others. He then continues:

‘The Emperor and the Prince have often times given us leave to build our Church: but when we for certain reasons pretended we had forgotten about it, lo! at the Festival of St. Mary at Nives,³ the Emperor again said ‘Fathers, build a Church and make all Christians as many as of their own free will desire to be Christians.’ But when we asked him for a written expression of his will under his own hand, he replied that he himself as a living document would meet the case. The Prince also often promised that he would supply all that was necessary for the building: a site has been fixed which is extremely convenient and near the palace: and we trust in God that the harvest will be plentiful. The Emperor has entirely overturned (*omnino evertit*) the Muhammandan heresy and does not recognize

¹ The Biblia Regia is perhaps the same as that presented by Aquaviva (p. 50 above.) S. Thomas is Aquinas. Soto is probably Domingo de Soto a scholastic writer of the middle of the sixteenth century. S. Antoninus of Forciglione lived 1389—1459. Sylvester may be the second Pope of that name, a considerable writer on theology (d. 1003.) Navarrus is perhaps Father Juan Aspidueta, surnamed Navarro. Jesuit Missionary in Brazil and a connection of the Xaviers (d 1555.) Cardinal Cajetan (1470—1534) who cited Luther at Augsburg was a writer on Aquinas and other subjects. The Commentaries are those of the great Albuquerque published by his son in 1557. The Exercitia Spiritualia are the Devotions issued by Ignatius Loyola and the ‘Ars’ appears from Du Jarric’s translation to have been a Latin Grammar.

² Vicerex Canāha frater consobrinus Satamas. Probably Muzaffar Husain, Cousin of Shāh ‘Abbās. (Blochm. *Āin*: I. 313). Satamas, sc. Shāh ‘Abbās not Shāh Tahmāsp. cf. Arber, English Garner III, 316.

³ August 5th.

it as a true faith. In the city there is no mosque (*moschea nulla est*) and no copy of the Qurān, which is the Scripture of their own faith. The mosques previously erected have been turned into stables and public granaries,¹ and to shame the Muhammadans forty or fifty swine are brought every Friday into the Emperor's presence to fight with each other, and he has their tusks bound with gold. The Emperor is the founder of a new sect and wishes to obtain the name of a prophet. He has already some followers, but only by bribing (*sed auro corruptos*). He worships God and the Sun. He is a Heathen. He follows, however, the sect of the Verteas² who live together like monks in one body and undergo many penitential observances. They eat nothing that has had life. Before they sit down they clean the spot with cotton brushes, in case they should sit on and kill some insect. These Verteas hold that the world has existed from all eternity : though some of them deny this and hold that many worlds have existed in the past. They have also other foolish and ridiculous tenets, with which I need not trouble Your Reverence. We are working hard to learn the Persian language: for the Emperor has desired us to become acquainted with it so that he may treat with us alone concerning our Faith. We have opened a school of letters which is attended by some sons of hereditary princes and by three sons of a certain king who serves Akbar himself.³ Two of these pupils wish to embrace Christianity and have recently asked to be allowed to do so. Another is so affected that he seems to be one of our most pious pupils, and asks to be admitted into orders. This latter on entering our chapel knelt down before Our Lord Christ and casting his turban on the ground said: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, remember me.' May God preserve him and fulfil his holy desire. There are some catechumens and some already become Christians, who though not in the first rank are yet souls redeemed by the blood of Christ. A Muhammadan asked one of our pupils one day, why he drank in spite of the day being an ordained fast day. He answered: 'Who ordained this fast?' 'Muḥammad' replied the other. 'But who is Muḥammad,' said the young man, 'save a false prophet and an impostor?' This he repeated in public at the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin before a number of men who were seeking after Christianity, and added that this was his glory. The Muhammadans were astonished, and presently one said: 'If you are a Christian, join yourself to the Christians.' But he returned to the chapel, and after receiving the holy water betook himself to prayer. I could recount much of this nature, but I make an end for fear of wearying Your Reverence, whom I earnestly beg to remember us and to send us some sacred relics for ourselves and for these our little seedlings, and to obtain for us the blessing of Our Father the General of the Society. For the rest, I commend myself again and again to your holy ministrations'

¹ This statement is supported by Bādaunī. See Noer. 1, 479.

² See p. 65 above, and cf. Thevenot III., ch. 36.

³ From a subsequent letter of Xavier's these would seem to have been the sons of the ruler of Badakhshān. See pp. 78 and 80 of this paper.

From the Annual Report of the Jesuit Missions for 1597,¹ we learn that the new Church at Lāhor was opened on the 7th September of that year with great ceremony,² and that the Governor of the City attended in person. The Governor stayed for two hours conversing with Pinheiro in the house, and to show his favour to the new religion released a 'Chaldaean Christian' who had been condemned to death for killing a cow. About this time there was a great pestilence in the City and many children abandoned by their parents were baptized. Among those seized by the plague was a Milanese gunner (*faber aenorum tormentorum*) who had travelled almost all over Europe and had contracted many vices; before he died, however, he repented of his sins, leaving his books³ and his money to the Church.

Letters from Lāhor, 1598-9.

Meanwhile, the chroniclers tell us, Akbar had gradually hardened his heart, setting up for himself a religion of his own and declining to accept that put before him by the Padres. To punish him God brought upon him two great misfortunes. For firstly, his son Murād received a severe check in his operations against the Deccan;⁴ and secondly, on Easter day 1597, as he sat on the terrace of his palace at Lāhor celebrating a feast of the sun, a fire came from heaven which burnt up a large part of the palace, consuming a vast mass of valuable carpets, jewellery, thrones and the like, and causing the molten gold and silver to run down through the streets of the city! That a fire did occur in the palace about this time is a historical fact,⁵ and in order to allow of the rebuilding necessitated by it, Akbar determined to proceed for the summer to Kashmīr. With him went Xavier and Goes, leaving Pinheiro to see to the building of the new house and church at Lāhor. Our next letter is one addressed to the General of the Society, which was despatched from Lāhor by Jerome Xavier in 1598, after his return from Kashmīr. The contents of this letter have been abstracted and published by Mr. H. Beveridge in an article on 'Father Jerome Xavier,' which appeared in the Society's *Journal*, as recently as

¹ *Annuaire Litteraire Soc. Jesu anni 1597.* (Neapoli 1607) p. 570

² The site of this Church is, I believe, unknown. According to Bernier (Amst. Ed. 1728 II. 80) it was destroyed by Shāh Jahān. When Desideri passed through on his way to Thibet in 1714, he found no clergy in the place at all (*Lettres. Edifiantes et Curieuses* XV. 184)

³ These were apparently written by himself. They included some, '*artis fusoriae precepta artemque diversorum operum ad bellicos usus continentes: in quibus erat et illud quibus artibus Mogori Diensem Armuzinamque arcem tenderet.*'

⁴ Defence of Ahmadnagar by Chānd Bibi, 1595-6.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 132.

1888, but it may be convenient to give here a somewhat fuller description of the purport of the letter.¹

It begins with an account of the valley of Kashmīr which Xavier and Benedict de Goes had visited with the Emperor in the previous summer. It mentions the temperate climate, the wild ducks, the fertility of the land, the number of streams and the vines growing on the mulberry trees. One of the antiquities, which it is rather difficult to identify, is thus described: 'Not far from the city is seen an old Palace of exquisite workmanship, built in black stone, the columns and porticos of which are composed of blocks exceeding the ordinary measurement. It is commonly said that when the city followed heathen rites (for the inhabitants embraced Muhammadanism three hundred years ago) it used to reach to this place.'

Then follows an account of a great famine in the valley.² The mothers would put out their children on the streets to die and the priests would then collect and baptize them. Sometimes the mothers would themselves call in the priests to baptize their children at the point of death, and when the priests were about to leave the valley, a woman besought them to take charge of her child. The journey back across the mountains was slow and full of difficulty, but at last on November 13th [1597] they reached Lāhor, exactly six months after they had left it. The Governor and people who had previously threatened to stone them now received them with a certain amount of cheerfulness. The Emperor and the Prince reached Lāhor a few days later: the latter having been mercifully preserved from the attack of a lioness whom, during the journey, he had wounded in the chase.

The Father then returns to a more particular account of the progress of his mission:—

'At Christmas [1597] our brother Bendict de Goes prepared a manger and cradle as exquisite as those of Goa itself, which heathens and Muhammadans, as well as Christians, thronged to see. In the evening masses were said with great ceremony, and a pastoral dialogue on the subject of the Nativity was enacted by some youths in the Persian tongue, with some Hindūstānī proverbs interspersed (*adjunctis aliquot Indūstani sententiis*).³ This gave such satisfaction that one Muhammadan in the

¹ See Oranus '*Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana*' and the Maintz work referred to on p. 44 above. Copies of the letter are also to be found in Hay and De Dieu.

² The Empire generally had suffered from the failure of the rains of 1596 (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 94). Xavier is said to have had fever for two months during his stay in the valley, but his own letter does not mention this.

³ An earlier use of the word 'Hindūstānī' than those given in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. The word is probably used, as it still is in native parlance, to describe the native as opposed to the Persian language: and does not connote the same tongue as Urdū Cf. p. 58 above, and p. 96 below.

audience said to another: 'We call the Christians Kāfirs—that is, a people who know not God or His Prophet: but verily we are Kāfirs ourselves, when, though students of the seers and prophets, we lack, as you hear, the knowledge of God and of things divine which the Christians possess.' Wherefore they were much refreshed and pleased at these pious exercises and gladly described to their own people the things which they had seen. So also did some of the Heathen. At the conclusion of the sacred office the gates were opened to all: and such was the piety of the throng of Heathen and Muhammadans that on seeing the child Jesus lying in the cradle they bowed themselves to the ground in worship. The exhibition of some mysteries of the sacred scripture gave us an opportunity of preaching on matters concerning our faith. Such was the crowd of spectators in those days that the cradle was kept open till the 8th day after Epiphany—the fame of the spectacle spread through the town and brought even outsiders to see the sight. And to crown all it pleased certain captains and military leaders to inform the Emperor, thinking that the sight should be seen even by the Emperor himself. Nevertheless the Heathen showed us some greater signs of approbation than the Muhammadans, for they offered vows to the Mother of God and presented such gifts as lay within the power of each. One woman when asked why she had brought a gift replied that she had asked 'Bibī Mariam,'—that is, the Lady Mary, for so they call the Blessed Virgin—to grant her a son, and as she had obtained her prayer she had brought this gift in memory thereof as a token of thankfulness.

Nor is it the common people and lower classes alone, but also the Princes themselves, that have recourse to Mary the Mother of Pity to obtain some boon. One of the Princes having with a view to some supplication brought two candles, four palms in length and so thick as to be scarcely grasped with two hands, closed his eyes like a man in prayer and meditation, while he handed one of them to the Priest to be burnt and consumed—as they themselves express it—to the honour of the Lord Jesus. With the same ceremony he presented the other to be burnt to the worship and glory of the Lady Mary. Then he gave 30 gold pieces in alms and we distributed these to the poorer Christians.

The love and affection felt by the Prince towards the Christian faith leads him as occasion offers, to defend and protect it. So it happened that when a Muhammadan said in his presence that the Fathers of the Society ate swine's flesh and he understood not what manner of life the Christians followed, the Prince replied that that was no reason why he should think or speak ill of them, in that they had the law of the Gospel, the prophets and the sacred scripture, to which they conformed all their actions.

He professes publicly his devotion and reverence to the Lord Christ and to the Lady Mary (I use the words which they employ) and for that reason has in his bed-chamber painted likenesses of them both, which he one day exhibited at his window to prove that this was so.

A Christian had presented him with a carved image of our Saviour on the cross with the two thieves hanging on either side, and when in the

presence of a number of persons he asked the full significance of the image he gave me an opportunity of spending some good time in explaining the sufferings and passion of Christ. I did the same on another occasion in the midst of a crowd of men, taking as my text a Japanese dagger on the head of which were a cross and some studs: the Prince meantime listening attentively to me from a window.

One day as I visited him I found him with two painters who were tracing out by the application of colour some small pictures, one of which represented the Angels appearing to the shepherds, and the other the Descent from the Cross:¹ and when he asked what these meant and of whom they were likenesses, I renewed the discourses I had previously entered on before him regarding the sacred passion of Our Lord Christ. I also disputed with his teacher (magistro) regarding the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God for man's salvation, and the Prince showed himself satisfied with my replies. When he desired to know of me the way in which Christians conduct their prayers, I spoke of the difficulty experienced by those who pray to God with the arms outstretched and with the body held in the form of a cross. When a companion of the Prince heard this he asked where the difficulty lay, and said he was able and willing to stand for an hour with his arms outstretched in the required position. The Prince then told him to try. He laughed and took up the position of the cross, but when after a little time he was asked how he felt he acknowledged he was a little weary, and again after a moderate interval he said he felt bodily pain and could not hold up his tired arms any longer, and he manifested such signs of distress as to move the Prince and the bystanders to laughter. The Prince then made two others try it, but they soon became weary and their calls for pity excited the derision of the onlookers. Thereafter the Prince having retired to a secret place attempted the experiment himself and when little over quarter of an hour had elapsed he brought himself to such a state of pain that he could scarcely

¹ There are many other evidences of the interest felt by the Mughal sovereigns in Christian Art besides the incidents recorded by the Jesuits: and it would be interesting to put together the information available on the subject. Reference may be made to the supposed 'Annunciation' and 'Fall' at Fatḥpur Sikrī: (see Smith's *Mogul Archt. of Fatḥpur Sikrī*): the Virgin and St. Ignatius at Sikandra (Manrique, *Itin* 1653. p. 350. Catrou, p. 135. cf. Finch in Kerr VIII. 305): and the pictures at Lāhor of Christ and the Virgin, the Flood and the Baptism in Jordan (Purchas, *Pilg.* I. IV. 432. De Laet, *India Vera* 1631, 59. Thevenot, III. ch. 36. Finch in Kerr VIII. 296. della Valle, III. 12-94. Tosi, I. 97. Harris, I. 815. Thornton's Lahore, 53 and 122. M. Laṭīf's Lahore, 120. Herbert. 68, etc). Those who saw Col. H. B. Hanna's exhibition of native pictures in London in May 1890, will also recollect the 'Temptation,' the 'Adoration of the Magi,' the 'Madonna descending near a Hindu temple,' and 'the Emperor Jahāngīr sitting in a palace on the walls of which are a Madonna and an Ecce Homo.' It is possible that the winged figures of the period (e.g., on the walls of the Lāhor fort, on the gate of the Gola Sarāi at Lāhor, etc.) owe something to the influence of Christian art: though such figures are not unknown in Persian and other Oriental paintings.

move his cramped and half-dead limbs, and acknowledging the severity of the pain said he had endured it for as long a time as that for which Christ our Lord is recorded to have hung upon the cross. Then he began to talk at great length regarding the pains and bodily afflictions which Christians of their own accord undergo and his words caused much sensation among those that stood by. In confirmation of his account he spoke of Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, whose intimate friend he had been, saying how one night when sleeping near him he heard a sound as though he were moving in the far end of his room. When the sound ceased he entered the Father's room and found there a whip so covered with blood that drops were falling on the floor. He asked him what the sound meant. The holy Father however, tried to cover with a laugh what the flush on his face and the modesty of his eyes plainly betrayed. The hearers were much moved by this account and they put credence in the Prince's words.

Another day we had a dispute regarding continence and chastity and those who preserve themselves pure and chaste according to the prescribed law of Christ, which same is the very point of the whole difficulty and of the cause why the Muhammadaus, sunk as they are in lust and incontinence are not initiated in the mysteries of Christianity. The Prince affirmed that if the Gospel permitted polygamy, many would accept it, in that its other teachings are conformable to reason. Nor is it hard to understand he should find such difficulty in preserving temperance, when it is remembered that although not yet 36 years old he has twenty women as his lawful wives.

He was so anxious for things imported hither from Portugal and India¹ and especially for the pictures of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, the Queen of the Angels (to whose care he says he commends himself), that he excites our wonder. Hence it happened that once when some baggage arrived at this Court from Cambay he had it taken over to his palace and opening it took out whatsoever he pleased, paying however a just price to the owners. For the same reason on account of the great friendship he has for us, and mindful of the old saying, 'Friends have all things in common' he takes whatsoever he chooses from the things which are sent to us from Goa. He once² retained some pictures, one of which the Provincial Father had intended for him, and when he pointed to one which was represented as smiling, it struck me that that was the picture which the Father wished to give him and I said that the Great Father³ (for so they call the Provincial) had sent it to His Highness. On hearing this he was much delighted that his name was honoured even in Goa, and to show his gratitude for the gift he presented us with two pieces of tapestry as ornaments for the altar of the Lord Jesus, and added afterwards a third and yet more beautiful one.

Enough as regards the Prince. Now let us say something concerning

¹ That is the peninsula of India: the north of India was known as 'Mogor.'

² This incident is omitted in the Maintz version of the letter. The present translation is taken from Oranus' version.

³ No doubt 'Barā Pādre.'

the Emperor. It is not customary in the East to appear before royalty empty-handed: accordingly when I had to lay before the Emperor the letter delivered to me by the Father Provincial, I presented him on the Father's behalf with two exquisite pictures made in Japan: one of Christ Our Lord and the other of the blessed Father Ignatius.¹ These were much admired: but the picture of the blessed Father Ignatius was especially pleasing to the Emperor as it was new and he had never seen it before. He enquired whom it represented and when I had explained this at some length he asked me to write his life in Persian for the good of the whole kingdom. Meantime the Prince came up and, seeing the picture, begged that it might be given to him until he could get it copied by a painter. On another day, when I went to pay my respects to the Emperor, he handed to me the letter I had brought from the Father Provincial and bade me read it aloud; which I also did, first in Portuguese, then in Persian. When I had read the letter, the Emperor showed himself much pleased at the Father having written that he was deeply obliged for the benefits and favours conferred upon us, and at his having at Goa commended him to the care of the Lord Jesus. I with great reverence raised my hat at the most holy Name of Jesus, and before I could explain the honour I rendered to the sacred name, he seized my hand and declared to his captains of thousands and of hundreds that the Christians held in the highest regard and reverence the holy Name of Jesus, and that this was the reason why I had uncovered. Then turning to me he said: 'Is it not so?' and I answered that he had spoken truly. When I had finished the letter of the Father Provincial, I read that of Father Monserrat, and the Emperor asked me why this Father had, as he had heard from others, been captured and detained by the Turks.² I said that the Muhammadans (Mauros) and Turks, were most hostile to Christians and treated them as ill as possible, for opposing the law and sect of Muḥammad, although they should love and cherish them, being indeed loved greatly by them as brothers and men eager for salvation who had pointed out the way of truth and were ready to lay down their lives for the same: and that not many days had passed since the blessed Father Abraham de Georgiis, the Maronite, had been killed on his way to Prester John on account of his profession of the Christian faith and had won the palm of martyrdom.³ This speech of mine was audible in open court and there was no lack of hearers: but the Muhammadans showed by their perturbed faces and angry eyes that they ill brooked to hear the exaltation of the true God and the utter degradation of the crime-stained Muḥammad. Nor were they a little shocked to hear their cursed Prophet so fearlessly accused and detested by us. One of them out of close friendship for us warned me to treat of Christianity with caution and prudence, as no Muhammadan there present 'did not thirst for our blood,' and

¹ *I.e.*, Loyola This picture or a copy seems to have been preserved for some time in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. See Manuchi-Catron, p. 135.

² See p. 49 above.

³ See Guzman, I. 236.

I myself' said he, 'though a true and no false friend of yours, yet whenever I hear you speak against Muḥammad, I so burn with wrath and indignation that I frequently desire to stab you as you stand.'

'The Emperor¹ is gifted with a wonderful memory, so that although he can neither read nor write, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him. He sleeps little and lightly, and spends a good part of the night in hearing history read to him. If any stranger comes to Court, he at once sends for him and minutely interrogates him as to what he has seen and by what road he has travelled. At about midnight he retires for half an hour for his devotions and then his learned men assemble and dispute with one another. One night I chanced upon them and found them discussing the point so new and incredible to Muhammadans 'Can God have a Son?' The Emperor set his Chronologist² to dispute with me and when I soon vanquished him, he ordered a more learned man to help the non-plussed one. On the fourth day of the moon³ musical instruments, in which he much delights, were brought in and also some images and among them the likeness of the sun, which he worships every day at dawn. But thinking that I might object that the sun was not God, but only a created thing and the work of God, he ordered it to be removed and straightway the idol vanished. There was then brought in the likeness of our Saviour bound to a pillar, and this he placed on his head as a sign of reverence and worship (a thing which he did not do to the image of the sun.) He took a pleasure in hearing the narration of the conversion of St. Paul and of Constantine the Great.

He told me that nearly twenty years ago he had thirty children shut up before they could speak, and put guards over them so that the nurses might not teach them their language. His object was to see what language they would talk when they grew older, and he was resolved to follow the laws and customs of the country whose language was that spoken by the children. But his endeavours were a failure, for none of the children came to speak distinctly, wherefore at this time he allowed no law but his own.⁴

After much vacillation and much obstruction from our opponents, he gave us leave to build a Church at Cambay; the same favour could not be obtained in the case of Sindh,⁵ on account of the vehement opposition encountered.'

¹ The translation of this and the next para. is taken from that given by Mr. Beveridge, *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 37.

² Perhaps, Mr. Beveridge suggests, Mīr Faṭḥu-llāh of Shīrāz: but Faṭḥu-llāh had apparently died before this. Blochm., *Āin* I. 33n; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* V. 469.

³ *Ad quartum Lunæ*. Mr. Beveridge thinks there is some mistake but the Maintz version also uses the same expression.

⁴ Cf. Badāunī, II. 288. (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* V. 533) and *Dabistān* (Shea's trans.) II. 90.

⁵ Mr. Beveridge thinks this probably means India proper. The original in Oranus is '*idem pro Sindo tentatum*,' and in the Maintz version '*idem tentatum reat per Sindum*.' A Church was established some years later at Tatta.

Father Jerome goes on to mention the case of an Armenian Christian who wished to marry his deceased wife's sister.¹ The Father had refused to sanction the marriage, and the Armenian, having embraced the Emperor's new religion, enlisted the Emperor's sympathy so far as to induce him to call for the Fathers and expostulate with them. They held stoutly to their refusal and ultimately the case was referred to Prince Salim, who expressed his indignation at the Armenian's desertion of his original faith. The incident was looked on by the Fathers as one of great importance, bringing them as it did into opposition to the '*secta pestilens et perniciosā nove a Rege instituta*.'

The letter proceeds to record an occasion on which the Prince asked if he could 'see St. James,' and the Father went so far as to say: 'Yes; if Your Highness will become a Christian and be baptized.' On another occasion the Father was asked why more persons were possessed by devils in Christendom than among Muhammadans, he did not deny the fact, but explained it—to the amusement of his hearers—by replying that the devil having the Muhammadans already in his power could afford to neglect them! The Father adds in his letter that a 'young son² of the King of Badakhshān, who was eighteen years of age and was to marry the Prince's daughter, had informed him that if the Prince embraced Christianity he would do the same.'

Xavier then goes on to describe the usages of the heathen. He first describes the idol at Kāngra (Nazar Coto)³ and gives the story that men who cut off their tongues and present them to the idol receive them back whole. He then mentions certain metaphysical and cosmographical theories of the Hindūs and details at some length the avatārs of Vishnu. As regards the tenth avatār, he writes, some said it was Akbar himself.

Then follow some narrations of persons baptized at the point of death, and of others cured by receiving baptism or by having the Gospel read to them, and the letter concludes with the account of the opening for mission work in Cathay, which has already been published in Sir Henry Yule's 'Cathay and the way Thither,' Vol II. p. 532.

So far Jerome Xavier. When Akbar left Lahore for Agra, which he appears to have done towards the end of 1598,⁴ he was accompanied by Xavier and by Benedict de Goes, Pinheiro being left again in charge

¹ So the Maintz version, which the context shows to be correct. Oranus has '*neptem*.'

² Mīrzā Sulṭān. See Blochm., *Āin* I. 313. cf pp. 70 and 80 of this paper.

³ cf Jarrett, *Āin* II. 312. Purchas II. 1480.

⁴ Elphinst., *Hist. Ind.* (ed. 1857) p. 457.

of the church at Lāhor. Our next letter¹ is one written by the last named from Lāhor, some time after Whitsuntide 1599,² and it is a letter of which the counterpart might be found in almost any issue of a modern Missionary Journal. It begins by stating that since Xavier left for Agra, there had been 38 persons baptised by the mission in Lāhor: and it proceeds to describe two recent cases. One is of three Hindus converted against the will of their relations, who were conducted on Whitsunday in a procession through the city with palms in their hands, and then having passed through a large and somewhat noisy multitude to the Church, were therein baptized. The other case relates to a Muhammadan girl of sixteen years of age, who on seeing the others baptized insisted on being baptized herself and convinced the priest that she was well instructed in the faith. She was accordingly baptized under the name of 'Grace,' but her parents at once turned her out of their house. She was then addressed by a Muhammadan who wished to marry her, but from him she fled and was put by Pinheiro in charge of a married Christian. The Muhammadan complained loudly to the Governor of the city, who summoned Pinheiro and then called for the girl; at this the Muhammadan rejoiced as he would now be able to kidnap her, but Pinheiro circumvented him and brought the girl safely before the Governor, who finding her most zealous in her profession of Christianity declined to interfere. Pinheiro was greatly pleased at this triumph and the girl was shortly afterwards married to a Christian.

The Father Provincial's Report of December 1599.

The next account we have is the report sent to the General from Goa by the Provincial, Father Pimenta, in December 1599.³ Only a part of the report deals with the North of India and a good deal of this is taken up with accounts thence received regarding Thibet. In describing that country the Provincial quotes from a letter which he says was written by Xavier on the 26th July 1598. The account which he quotes is somewhat fuller than that given in the letter which Xavier addressed to the General in 1598 (see preceding page), but differs so little from it that it was presumably written about the same time.

¹ See Oranus '*Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana*' and the Maintz version referred to on p. 44 above. Copies of the letter are also to be found in Hage and De Dieu.

² The letter is published as having been written in 1598, but the Whitsuntide feast of 1599 is mentioned in it.

³ The Latin date is 'Oct. Kal. Jan. 1599' and the real date seems from the letter to be either St. Thomas' Day (December 21st), or December 25th 1599. See '*Nova Relatio*' [p. 44 above.] The Portuguese version of 1602 gives 26th November as the date.

After quoting Xavier's letter on the subject of Cathay, Father Pimenta goes on to state that when Akbar left Lāhor for Agra, Xavier and Goes had accompanied him, leaving Pinheiro at Lāhor. Akbar had while at Agra, sent his son¹ with 50,000 men against the Deccan and the country of Meliquius [Malik Ambar] in which lay Chaul, not more than 210 miles from Goa. That son having died another² had been substituted for him. Meantime Xavier had again written from Agra on 1st August 1599, regarding the country of Cathay, confirming his previous account.

Xavier's letter, which Pimenta then quotes, narrates also an interview which he had with the Emperor. Xavier asked the Emperor if three or four priests might be sent to Cathay and the Emperor replied 'Rahat met Xoda,'³ '*id est benedictio Domini super vos,*' adding that he was going to send an ambassador thither and that they had better go with him. Xavier notices also the circumstance that three sons of the king of Badakhshān, who was living in India, had been pupils of the mission and that their brother was now ruling in that country.⁴

Pimenta also reports that Xavier had asked the Emperor's leave for the admission of further priests to minister to the congregations in Lāhor and Agra: that Akbar had granted a 'Diploma' or sanad accordingly, and that this sanad also gave privileges to the church at Cambay. The sanad had not been signed when Xavier wrote, but a copy was to be sent to Goa as soon as it had been signed.

The following account of a conversation held with the Emperor on the 16th July 1599, is then quoted from Xavier's letter:—

Father Xavier said to the Emperor that with his permission he wished to speak to him on a matter privately. The Emperor, having moved apart and dismissed the bystanders, remained standing and asked him what he wanted. Xavier, who for two years previously had received instructions to this effect, began as follows: 'Sire, we have received the following orders from our Superior. 'As it is now more than four years since you began studying the language, the Emperor can now doubtless understand you thoroughly, wherefore now beseech you His Majesty that, having called us to him to acquaint him with the Gospel, he should now see how he stands, so that I too may

¹ Sulṭān Murād died near Daulatābād, 22nd Urdibihisht 1599. (Elliot VI. 97.)

² Sulṭān Dāniyāl. In 1609 his three sons were baptized by the Jesuits under the names of Philipppo, Carlo and Henrico, and in the same year another grandson of Akbar's was christened 'Don Edoard.' Herbert's *Travels* (1638) p. 75. According to Roe they reverted to Islām on finding they could not get Portuguese women as wives (M. Thevenot, *Relations* p. 78.)

³ Rāhat az khudā or Raḥmat-i-khudā?

⁴ See also Pinheiro's letter of 3rd September 1595 (p. 70 above) and Xavier's of 1598 (p. 78.)

know what order to give concerning you.' 'In truth,' said Xavier, 'it is very irksome to us to stand idle. Wherefore, Sire, do you not listen to us as you said you would listen: you that profess yourself a wise man and a searcher after truth?' 'I admit,' said the Emperor, 'that I called you in order to hear the truth, so that I might adopt whatever course appeared most consistent with truth and reason, but now I go toward the Deccan and shall halt near Goa, where I shall go to hear you at leisure.' He continued the conversation for some time, repeating the same language. 'I called you,' he said, 'to speak to you and listen to you in private. What? When the Muhammadans were rulers would any one have dared to say that Christ was God? He would at once have been put to death. Now he is safe.' I agreed that this was so, and thanked the Emperor, saying that if he would listen to us some time it would be a great benefit to him as well as a consolation to us. He promised to do so and closed the interview.¹

The Provincial then goes on to say that he proposed sending companions to help and solace the Fathers. And he concludes this part of his report with an account of some incidents which had taken place in connection with the mission at Lāhor:—

'This year at Christmas the Fathers at Lāhor prepared a magnificent representation of the manger in memory and honour of Our Saviour: to which thronged so great a crowd of all ages and classes that for twenty days continuously some three or four thousand persons might worship the image of the Child Jesus. One of these, a nobleman, whose wife had borne him a son at the same day and hour as that on which Christ was born, brought him to the Fathers, and allowed him to be baptized, himself and his wife becoming catechumens. Not so blessed was the fate of another Muhammadan mother, though that of her new born child was still more blessed. Her child had been baptized with her consent and at her request, but she was unable to bear the taunts of her relations and on the day before Ascension Day she placed poison in its milk. The poor child after seventeen hours of terrible torture bore testimony to Christ not in words but by death (*Christum non loquendo sed moriendo confessus*), and expired before the altar, on the feast of the Ascension, forty days after its birth and eighteen days after its baptism. Father Manoel Pinheiro writes that after the child had surrendered its soul to Christ, its face still shone with so unwonted a grace that the glory of its blessed soul which it had attained on rising to Christ appeared to be reflected on its features below.'

The Father Provincial's Report of 1st December 1600.

Our next original authority is the annual report² written by Father Pimenta, as Visitor, to the General of the Society on 1st

¹ It has been suggested by Bohlen (*Alte Indien*, I. 105) that in] his refusal to adopt Christian views Akbar was influenced by the report of the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa, and Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein (Noer. *Kaiser Akbar*, I. 486) has repeated the suggestion, but I do not find anything in any of the records to show that he had heard of the Inquisition.

² '*Exemplum Epistolae*' (Maintz.) see p. 44 above.

December, 1600. The report begins with an account of a journey made by Pimenta northwards from Goa. In January 1600 he put into Chaul and there met nine young men who had been sent by Pinheiro from Lāhor by the Sindh route. Some of these were left at Bandora 'to learn from the best masters to play on all kinds of instruments for the new church at Lāhor.' A fifth became a Jesuit and what happened to the rest is not stated. From these youths the Visitor learnt some details not stated in Pinheiro's letters. For instance how a young Catechumen was defending the faith against certain adversaries and how in the middle of the debate the leader of the adversaries was by an unseen hand felled to the ground!

At Damān, whither he afterwards proceeded, Pimenta received from Xavier a letter and a copy of a book which he had written 'against certain sects of the unbelievers, more especially that of the Muham-madans,' and had dedicated to the Emperor. It was called '*Lignum Vitæ*'¹ and was in Pimenta's opinion a work of great erudition and detail (*pereruditum et prolixum*). Father Xavier, who had learnt to speak Persian with fluency and idiom, was at the time preparing in conjunction with native scholars, a Persian translation of his work. Goes had also written to the Provincial describing among other things the fortifications of Burhānpur which Akbar was then besieging.²

The Emperor, it must be observed, had by this time reached the seat of war in the Deccan and had brought Goes and Xavier south with him. In order, therefore, to help poor Pinheiro at Lāhor, who was now 'six hundred miles distant from Father Xavier at Burhānpur,' the Visitor sent one Father Corsi,³ with instructions to see Father Xavier on the way and to obtain from him the necessary information and guidance. Father Corsi reached Cambay at the beginning of March (1600); there he was shown the order⁴ issued by Akbar for the protection of the Fathers journeying to Agra, Lāhor and Cathay, and was treated by the Governor with great courtesy. After some delay he left this city, but on the 12th May he wrote to say that he had with

¹ Du Jarric, III. 27, gives it the name of *Fons Vitæ*, and says that Akbar was introduced in it in the character of a philosopher seeking for truth. The book in question was doubtless that which was ultimately called '*Speculum Veritatis*' or '*Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*.' See p. 111 below.

² See Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 99. Akbar arrived at Burhānpur on 30th April 1599. Noer, II. 480.

³ When Terry was in India sixteen years later, Corsi was about 50 years old. He is described as a Florentine and '(if he were indeed what he seemed to be) a man of a severe life and yet of a fair and affable disposition.' Terry's *Voyage* (Ed. 1717) p. 422.

⁴ See p. 80 above.

great difficulty passed through the bands of brigands that infested the roads, by way of Sambusar (Jambūsir) and Broach. On the 4th June 1600 he reached the Mughal camp and on the 4th August he reported to the Visitor that he hoped shortly to start for Lāhor and meantime was diligently studying the Persian language.

Events of 1600–1603.

We have no original letters available between the 1st December, 1600 and the 6th September, 1604, and our main authorities for this period are Du Jarric's History and the Relations of Guerreiro on which that history is almost exclusively based. It will suffice here to give a short resumé of the information supplied by Du Jarric.¹

The personnel of the mission altered somewhat during these years. Corsi whom we left at Burhānpur proceeded to Lāhor probably before the end of 1600. In the spring of 1602, Xavier returned with Akbar to Agra, while Goes proceeded on a mission to Goa. Pinheiro joined Xavier either at Agra or before his arrival there, and was at Agra in the spring or in the hot weather of 1602, when Goes returned to that city bringing with him a new missionary, Father Antony Machado.² Not long after this, Pinheiro departed for Lāhor and Goes seems to have followed in October 1602. Early in 1603 Goes left Lāhor for his adventurous journey through Thibet,³ and for the rest of that year, the mission was carried on in Agra by Xavier and Machado, and in Lāhor by Pinheiro and Corsi.

We are told that when the Emperor moved from Burhānpur and laid siege to Asirgarh, His Majesty ordered Xavier to write to the Portuguese for guns and ammunition, and that the Father refused on the plea that such action would be contrary to the Christian faith. 'In my opinion,' says the chronicler, 'the real reason was that the Emperor's enemies were in alliance with the Portuguese.' Be that as it may, the Emperor became extremely angry and bade the missionaries depart to Goa at once: but his anger soon blew over and they remained on as before. When the fort was taken, Xavier was instrumental in saving the lives of some half-caste renegades among the prisoners and re-converting them to Christianity. It is said, moreover, that during this Deccan campaign some seventy persons were baptized, including some who 'departed incontinently to enjoy the glory of

¹ Vol III, 30–85.

² Of Machado nothing further seems to be known. He is buried in the old cemetery at Agra, where he died in April 1635, and his name can still be deciphered on the tombstone. Fanthome, *Reminiscences of Agra*, 1895, p. 65.

³ See Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II. 537.

heaven.' Among the latter was a little female infant picked up from a dung-heap and the incident at once suggested the quotation: '*De stercore erigens pauperem ut collocet eum cum principibus.*' In the spring of 1601,¹ the Emperor returned to Agra and with him went Xavier.

While in the Deccan the Emperor despatched an embassy to Goa on some purely political object, and allowed Goes to accompany this embassy. They arrived at Goa in May 1601, bringing many costly presents, but the most precious of the presents, says Du Jarric, was a band of half-caste children who had been taken prisoners at Burhānpur, and who now, after some instruction, were baptized at Goa into the faith of their fathers. While at Goa, Benedict de Goes received the orders to start upon his Thibetan journey. At the same time a Jesuit Father, Antony Machado, was appointed to take his place with Xavier, and the two set forth, arriving at Agra (if we may judge from the description of the heat) in the spring or early summer of 1602.

Meantime the Lāhor Mission had, since Pinheiro's letter of 1598, experienced some vicissitudes of fortune.

At the first, things went on well. The Viceroy was in every way favourable to the mission. Pinheiro succeeded in obtaining from him the pardon of prisoners condemned to death. Fugitives from justice took refuge in the church. The Father's intervention was constantly sought. Even great feuds such as one that broke out between the Juge-mage and the Emperor's treasurer (? the Qāzī and the Diwān) were composed by his arbitration. When this Viceroy died and was succeeded by his brother,² efforts were made to discredit the mission, but the only result was that the maligners of the mission were imprisoned. About this time, however, a determined effort was made by some bad characters to rob the Fathers, and the detailed account of the attempted robbery, as set forth in the pages of Du Jarric, gives us a curious insight into the manners and habits of the mission. It will suffice here to note that an outsider, having brought himself into the house as a possible convert, put *datura* into the food, and when all the household was stupified called in his accomplices and broke open the Father's store room, taking away such money as there was and some relics which the Father prized more than money. The thieves apparently were not discovered, but the Viceroy and the Kotwāl came in person to the Father to offer their sympathy.

At Christmas in the year 1600, Pinheiro again appealed to the

¹ Elphinstone, *Hist. Ind.*, Ed. 1857, p. 458.

² The two friendly Viceroys appear from Pinheiro's letter of 1605 to have been Xumaradin (Qamru-d-din) and Xencão (Zain Khān.) Zain Khān Koka was Viceroy at Lāhor just before Akbar's return to Agra in 1602. (Blochm. *Āin* I. 345.)

eyes of the unbelievers by preparing a representation of the manger and the Magi, with pictures of the Prophets and Persian copies of the chief Old Testament prophecies of the birth of Christ. A passion play was also enacted in two scenes. In one appeared Adam crushed by sin, whom Simeon consoles with hopes of a Messiah: to them enters a Philosopher with whom Adam discusses the doctrine of the Incarnation. In the other Mercy and Justice dispute regarding Adam's sin: an Angel then appears announcing Christ's birth, and a Shepherd follows with the same news. Similar scenes were prepared at Easter, and on both occasions the Viceroy attended. Conversions were not as frequent as had been hoped, but we are told that Pinheiro baptised on one occasion 39 persons, on another 20, and on another 47. Details are given as of several individual cases, including one of a young man of the holy race of Xaques [*Shaikhs*] and one of a Chacata [*Chughatai*] lady who was of the blood royal. We learn incidentally moreover that the chapel services were conducted in Persian: and that the Fathers occasionally extended their ministrations to the villages in the neighbourhood. They also converted several Armenians, and Pinheiro got hold of the books and property of the Armenian 'archbishop,' who had died in trying to reach India through Persia. We learn too that the Fathers were accused of eating human flesh, of kidnapping children and of killing young men to make drugs from: and when these accusations brought them into trouble, they received the protection of the Nawāb or 'Jugemage.'¹

After Corsi's arrival, sometime in 1601, Pinheiro took the opportunity of travelling to the Emperor's head-quarters to confer with Xavier. The two Fathers went immediately to pay their respects to the Emperor taking with them a pen and ink sketch, on paper, of the Virgin Mary. The Emperor received them well, but had the sketch taken away to his private rooms at once. Thinking that he was displeased with the nature of the offering, the Fathers went again next day, and presented a picture of our Lady of Loretto on gilt metal (*calaim doré*)² which the Emperor treated most reverently '*joignant les mains fort bellement.*' He explained at the same time that he had sent the sketch away because it was unseemly that he should be sitting above on a high throne while the Virgin was below: and when Pinheiro stooped to

¹ In the course of a case described at some length by Du Jarric, the Nawāb says, '*Thama Theogoda c'est à dire La Benediction de Dieu soit sur cette femme.*' How should the original words be restored? [? *Ghanimat-i-Khudā*] In the same case mention is made of certain Hindū judges called Cateris (*Khatriis*) and of the Coxi (?) '*qui est comme le Vicaire General du Prelat souverain des Gentils.*'

² '*Le calaim est une espèce de metal, qui vient de la Chine, semblable à l'estain, combien qu'il ne le soit pas, ayant beaucoup de meslange de cuivre: mais il est blanc et on en fait de la monnaye en l'Inde: on le dore aussi come l'argent.*' Du Jarric, III. 36.

kiss his feet, he laid his hand on his shoulder 'which he does not do save to the great captains, and his special favourites.' He enquired about the manner in which the Emperor in Europe saluted the Pope, and it was explained to him, that the Pope had a cross marked on his foot, which showed that it was only in his character as Christ's representative that he had his feet kissed by the Emperor. The conversation turned then on the sign of the cross and a pupil of Pinheiro's was made to show how it was done. The Emperor asked Pinheiro if he had done it properly, and was told that he had. He also enquired why the sign of the cross was made on the forehead, mouth and chest, and a fitting explanation was given him.

During the earlier part of 1602, Goes and Machado arrived at Agra from Goa and Pinheiro went out several miles to greet them. Meantime news came from Corsi at Lāhor that the previous Viceroy having died, his successor, a bigotted Muhammadan, who had as governor of Gujrāt, imbibed a hatred of the Portuguese,¹ had commenced ill-using the Christians and endeavouring to make them renounce their faith. The Fathers at Agra, therefore, presented themselves to the Emperor (bringing with them this time pictures of the great Albuquerque and of the Viceroy of Goa, Ayres de Saldagna) and made two requests. First that Pinheiro might have leave to go back to Lāhor, a request which the Emperor granted much to their surprise, as Pinheiro was a favourite with him. And secondly, that a written order might be given to them under the Emperor's seal, expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. This also the Emperor agreed to, but then further difficulties began. The eunuch who had charge of the drawing up of the *firmān* hesitated to include so sweeping an order and consulted the 'Maitre d' hotel,' but this latter was a nephew of the Viceroy of Lāhor and interposed every possible delay: so that the Fathers in despair made use of a young courtier, a favourite of the Emperor and a former pupil of Pinheiro's, who drew the Emperor's attention to the matter and pushed it through in spite of the further objections of Agiscoa² ['Aziz Koka,] the Grand Chamberlain, whose duty it was to seal the *firmāns* and bring them to the Emperor to sign. The Fathers were delighted at their success, and

¹ *Qulāj Khān* who had served in Gujrāt in 1578 and 1583 (cf p. 58 above) was made Governour of the Panjāb (circa) 1009 AH = AD 1600-1; and is probably the Viceroy here alluded to: see Blochm. *Āin* I. 34.

² He is elsewhere described by the Jesuits as the Emperor's foster brother, and they say that his son and daughter had married the Emperor's daughter and son *Mīrzā 'Aziz Koka*, *Khān-i-A'zam*, was Akbar's foster brother: one of his daughters married Prince Murād and another Prince *Khusrau* (Blochm. *Āin* I. 325): and he is undoubtedly the person meant in the text.

when Pinheiro ultimately went to take his leave of the Emperor, he was treated with great kindness and presented with a horse for the journey.

Before Pinheiro left Agra, Xavier had laid before the Emperor a book describing in Persian, the life, miracles and doctrine of Christ.¹ With this the Emperor was so pleased that he frequently had it read to him by 'Aziz Koka, and 'Aziz Koka himself asked the Fathers for a second copy. The Emperor also asked that a similar work might be prepared to describe the lives of the apostles.²

Considerable excitement was caused about this time by a copy of the picture of the Madonna del Popolo at Rome,³ which the Fathers had with them. Although the picture had been in their possession for two years they had not dared to show it in public for fear of the Emperor taking a fancy to it. At Christmas time A. D. 1601, however, they let it be seen in the Church and immediately great crowds pressed to see it, including many Muhammadans. Among those who came were the brother and nephew of the king of Xhandar (Khandesh),⁴ a son of the king of Qandahar⁵ and other courtiers. The Emperor heard of the picture and expressed a wish to come, but, as the Fathers' house (though in the city) was a good half league from the palace, he bade the Fathers bring it to him. While Pinheiro was fetching the picture, the Emperor presented Xavier with a rich kind of waterproof and descended five steps from his throne to put it on his shoulders. When the picture came, the Emperor treated it with all possible respect, and kept it for a day to show it to his zanāna. After it had been returned, the Emperor sent for it again as his mother who had not seen it before had expressed a wish to see it. It was brought back, therefore, and the Emperor lifted it up himself and took it into the zanāna and stood by it, allowing none to come near. After it had been duly seen

1 The *Dāstān-i-Masīḥ*: completed in 1602 (see p. 110 below). In describing Akbar's character the Provincial at Goa in 1607 wrote as follows (see *Drei Neue Relationes*): 'When once he had listened to the Life of Christ written by Jerome Xavier in Persian, he began to reverence highly the pictures of Christ and to speak more respectfully of Christ himself, though several of the Muhammadans tried to persuade him that Christ's miracles were not due to any supernatural power, but to Christ's exceeding skill as a physician, dealing with natural methods.'

2 Which was apparently done. See p. 113 below.

3 The painting of the Virgin on the high altar of the Church of S. Maria del Popolo is one of those attributed to S. Luke. Forbes' *Rambles in Rome*, p. 4.

4 Bahādur Khān who had been besieged at Asir and who was now a prisoner at Gwāliar. Elliot, VI. 146.

5 Muzaffar Khān had died in 1599-1600 and this probably refers to his eldest son Bahrām Khān (Blochm. *Āin* I. 314). Guerreiro (p. 52) adds that the king had been driven out by 'Abduxam [Abdulla Khān] Rey de Husbec,' apparently confusing him with the king of Badakhshān.

inside, it was sent out by a eunuch to the Fathers, who then showed it publicly to a large crowd of courtiers amid 'marvellous silence.' After it had been taken home, it was once more sent for by the Emperor to allow of his having it copied by his own native painters and this time it remained several days in the palace. After this, the Fathers would not let it out of their possession, except on two occasions. On one of these it was sent to the house of 'Aziz Koka with the result that this powerful officer was thereby won over to the Jesuits' side. On another occasion it was sent to the King of Qandahār and returned with much politeness and with offers of *bakhshish*, which the Fathers refused.

The Fathers meantime busied themselves in various good works. They were able to rescue from slavery, a number of half-castes who had been made prisoners in the war in the Deccan, and to baptize them after instructing them in the faith. Some other cases of baptisms are also narrated. In Lāhor, Pinheiro baptized two sons of the king of Persia's ambassador, Manuchiher, a Georgian who had been in the country six years, and was then returning to Persia. He also found means to get possession of a young Hungarian slave from Buda Pesth, who was accompanying a Turkish embassy, and to send him to Goa.¹ Moreover when a Native Christian woman who had been kidnapped in her youth and sold to a Greek who had afterwards married her, was claimed by her parents, Pinheiro was able by showing the Emperor's *firman* to obtain for her the right to remain with her husband.

Some time during the year 1602, Xavier was able to obtain the release from durance of some 50 shipwrecked Portuguese who had been seized by the Governor of Cambay and sent to the Court.² During this same year the relations between the Emperor and his son, Salim, became very strained: and it is interesting to notice the care which the Fathers took to stand well with both parties. Salim, we are told, wrote to Xavier with his own hand, superscribing his letter with a cross. Xavier took care to have the letter read in the Emperor's presence and to reply in Portuguese. He had an agent with the Prince in the person of Giovanne Filippo³ through whom correspondence could pass. The substance of this correspondence, as described by Du Jarric is of some interest and the position adopted by the Prince towards Christianity about this time is

¹ Cf. p. 98 below.

² Cf. p. 90 below. Du Jarric, III. 79, implies that they arrived at Lāhor and that Xavier interceded for them there. It does not appear, however, that either Akbar or Xavier had gone to Lāhor this year.

³ If this be not the Italian mentioned on p. 91 below, it may possibly be John Philip de Bourbon, the husband of Juliana mentioned in the note on p. 53 above: but I have no information regarding de Bourbon beyond what is given in Col. Kincaid's article there referred to.

somewhat striking, if the Jesuit authorities are to be believed. We are assured that he wore a gold cross round his neck: that he said to his captains that in time of danger he should call on none but Christ: that he wrote to Goa asking for a separate mission of priests to be sent to his Court: that he had a golden crucifix made for himself: that he had a figure of Christ on the cross carved on a large emerald¹ and wore it on a chain: and so forth. He also read from end to end the book written by Xavier to which the Emperor had given the title 'Mirror of Purity':² and had given a large sum for the building in Agra of a church, which should equal in size that which his father had allowed to be built at Lāhor.

Father Jerome Xavier's letter from Agra, dated September 6, 1604.

Our next authority is a very long letter written by Xavier from Agra on September 6, 1604. The original manuscript is preserved in the British Museum (Marsd. MSS. 9854, foll. 7-19) and as the letter has never before been published and has not apparently been utilized in Du Jarric's history, some fairly full quotations from it will perhaps be pardoned.

The letter begins with a description of the religious life of the Fathers and their congregation:—

'Fathers Pinheiro and Fr. Corsi are in Lāhor; and Father Ant. Machado and myself are here in Agra. We are all in good health by the goodness of God. We occupy ourselves as well as we can in the exercises of the Society, keeping up the custom of daily meditation and examination and that of the renewal of vows, &c. We endeavour to confirm our converts in the faith they have adopted, and in a fitting way of life. To this end, on Sundays and on ordinary feasts, there is always a sermon, and when the Portuguese prisoners were here, there were two sermons, one for them in Portuguese at the second mass, and one for the natives in their own language. At the principal feasts, numbers of both men and women come to confession and receive communion, which you will learn to your consolation and to ours. At Christmas there was a fine procession as is customary every year, which moves the Christians to great devotion. Many Muhammadans and heathens who came hither, seeing it, returned praising the customs of the Christians. This is a good opportunity to explain our religion to them, and as their own has such a slight foundation it is easier to convince their understanding than their will, their lives being so far from the strictness and perfection of the Evangelical law and the happiness it brings to its followers.

Our Christians keep Lent very well, with the full rigour of fasting and abstinence from all milk food. We gave them leave to eat butter, but many did not avail themselves of it. All through Lent nothing is conceded: even

¹ See p. 91 below.

² See p. 111 below. The work was not completed till 1609.

to those under age. We do not extend to them the usual dispensations because it is well that being new Christians they should, from devotion, imitate in something the austerity of the early Christians. There will be no lack of opportunity hereafter for their availing themselves of the concessions which will be made to them in the course of time. Also we have regard to the Muhammadans, who hold our fasting in great contempt seeing that we eat twice a day; and to those Christians who were formerly Muhammadans it would seem as if they did not fast at all, so that '*sicut exhibuerunt in membra sua servire in iniquitate ad iniquitatem*,' having observed the Muhammadan fast with such rigour '*ita exhibuerant illa servire justitiæ in sanctificationem*.' Every Friday evening in Lent, we have a sermon to the Christians: at the end we show them the crucifix which is placed, covered, on the altar, after which the Litany is recited, and then as many men as the Church can hold (for here in Agra it is very small) take the discipline, while the Father recites the '*Miserere*.' When these have finished others take their place, and so on till all have taken their turn. They take the discipline across the back, according to our custom: so do nearly all the Christians, old and new. When we have a larger Church there will be room to conduct these exercises with greater solemnity. The offices for Holy Week are simply recited, but the other ceremonies are carried out with all solemnity. The washing of the feet is performed fully with great devotion and consolation. All go to confession during Lent; and on Maunday Thursday and Easterday more than forty persons of both sexes who a few years ago were followers of Muhammad, received Holy Communion. The mystery of the Supreme Sacrament is preached to them individually and in general, and the privilege of approaching it is highly prized whenever we give them leave. May God keep them and advance them in perfection every day. Amen.'

Many of the congregation were however sadly in want of temporal aid. Some of the Portuguese captured at Asīrgarh had indeed been enlisted by Akbar as *ahdīs*, '*i.e.*, soldiers with two horses apiece,' but there were many others who were entirely dependant on the alms of the Fathers. The case of the fifty shipwrecked Portuguese captives¹ gave the Fathers much trouble. They besought the intercession of the Prince Salim, and even of 'Azīz Koka ('whose son had sent them here'), for the purpose of obtaining the Emperor's permission for the return of these captives to Goa; but Akbar insisted on the payment of a large ransom. This the Fathers said was impossible and at last the Emperor suddenly gave in. The Portuguese were greatly delighted and came to make their *salām*, while Xavier thanked the Emperor saying: 'My Lord, you have liberated fifty captives and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.' Shortly afterwards Akbar made them shoot at a mark before him and 'those who did so, hit the white at almost every shot.' 'That same afternoon

¹ See p. 88 above.

he caused many guns to be brought before them and bade them pick out the best for his chiefs. He received all of them that night, showing them great familiarity and presented four of them with a gun apiece.' At the beginning of December [1603] they started southwards and a certain Armenian called Iskandar through whose villages they passed supplied them with a few rupees each, which enabled them ultimately to reach Goa, travelling by way of Aḥmadābād and Cambay. Two of them returned in the hope that Akbar would show them favour, but he ignored them, recognizing 'how worthless they must be to leave the service of their king so lightly.'

Father Jerome, then, having tried unsuccessfully to get leave to go to Lāhor, turned his attention to some Armenians and others in his neighbourhood. Ten leagues from Agra, an Armenian landholder returning one night to his home 'was beginning to drink when he was surprized by death and rendered his soul to his Creator without so much as time to cry "Jesus":' and the Father forthwith set out to comfort his relations and to help in settling his affairs. On his way he passed Fatḥpur Sikrī where Prince Salīm was then residing:—

'On the way,' he writes 'there is a city which used to be the court of the Emperor Akbar when Father Rodolfi was here, which is called Fatehpur: we might say of it "here stood Troy," for it is totally demolished; but a few edifices made by the Emperor still stand firm. The Prince was there at the time and I went to see him. He was much pleased at my visit and entertained me very well, and when his second son,¹ who was with him, took no notice of my salutation, he said to him. "Ho there! the Father is saluting you," and the young man then obeyed him.'

While with the Prince, Xavier was able to do a good turn for an Italian servant² of his whose pay was in arrears, and also for the widow of an Armenian goldsmith whose property had been seized. This Armeniau, like his compatriot above mentioned, had died from drink: he had offered before the Prince to drink 5 or 6 goblets of spirits; and instead of drinking, like the Prince, from small cups he insisted on draining a large china bowl, with the result that he died next day without recovering consciousness. On his return Xavier again visited the Prince and found him having copper made from peacocks' tails in his presence, such copper being an excellent antidote against poison! The Father continues his account as follows:—

'That same day the Prince showed me a crucifix carved on an emerald,³ very well wrought. He told me he had had it made to take with him. The

¹ *Sulṭān Parwīz* then sixteen years old.

² Perhaps the *Filippo* mentioned on p. 88 above. Xavier in the same letter says that this Italian and his wife entertained him at Fatḥpur.

³ cf p. 89 above.

emerald is about the size of one's thumb and the crucifix is very well carved upon it. (I had seen it in Agra, when it was made, a little while before he left). It is a fine piece of work, encircled with gold, pierced with a hole by which it can be hung on a gold chain. I remained two days longer, and when I took my leave, the Prince gave me five hundred rupees for the church. His seat was slightly raised and when I would have bent down to touch his feet, he raised me in his arms as he might a beloved brother and begged me to recommend him much to the Lord Jesus. He then, pursued his journey to Elahabac (Allāhābād) from whence he came, refusing to return by Agra where his father was, so as not to fall into the snare again.¹

After he had been two or three months in Allāhābād, he said to his Italian servant abovementioned: "Write to the Father that you see how I carry about with me this image of the Lord Jesus" (which I take to be the aforesaid crucifix). He also sent me another five hundred rupees for the church,² and said that he would order everything necessary to be given to me.

The son of an Armenian Christian was in the Prince's service and I asked the favour here in Agra that he would make him his soldier with three horses, and show him favour in future. The young man remained in Agra some time on necessary business and then went to the Prince in Allāhābād, who asked him what faith he followed: he replied that he was a Muhammadan and the Prince indignantly cast him off, refused to admit him to his service and said he had a mind to cut out his tongue. The wretched young man has been in disgrace for eight or ten months.

To show favour to some Portuguese who had arrived, the Prince asked them if they would like some pork to eat, and they said they would. The Prince ordered a pig to be fetched and when it was brought, he gave it to a young Christian and bade him take it to his master, but the young man was ashamed and let the pig escape. At supper, the prince remembering the pig, asked the young man's master if he had received it, to which he answered: "No, my Lord, and I have neither seen nor heard anything of it." The Prince thereupon sent for the young man and rated him soundly as a disgrace to his religion, dismissed him from his service, took away what he gave him for his daily maintenance, and ordered that two or three months' arrear of pay owing to him should be forfeited.³

These things show at least that he is not averse to our Holy Faith,'

When Father Jerome returned to Agra, he shortly found himself in unwonted favour with the Emperor and was able to commence building his new Church. The following is his account of the matter:—

'The Emperor has sent for me since, very often, once a week at least when we have finished our prayers, to come and spend the night with him,

¹ Salīm's previous visit to Agra is described in Noer, *Kaiser Akbar* II. 548.

² Fanthome on p. 29 of his *Reminiscences of Agra* 1895, quotes a short *firmān* of Akbar's prohibiting interference with the building of this Church: but he does not say where the *firmān* comes from.

³ A similar story is told by Coryate. *Kerr's Voyages and Travels*, IX. 431.

as he wishes to hear us speak and praises us highly for it. This is a favour only granted to certain chiefs and others whom he wishes to honour. We remain nearly all night in conversation with him, relating many things of Christ Our Lord, and His Saints. On one of these occasions I gave him a book in Persian, containing sayings of some of our philosophers and many curious things, which he had asked me for. He and his chiefs enjoy it very much and it is in great request.¹

When I returned from my visit to the Prince we commenced the building of our church,² and the first stone was laid with great solemnity. Many Muhammadans were present, and were greatly edified by the ceremonies which Christians use on these occasions. These works are not so expensive here as in other places, being made of bricks, lead, and a great part of clay, which is made of a certain kind of earth. The chapel will be well finished, though perfect workmanship may be wanting. It will soon be finished, please God. It is badly needed as the Christians are very crowded in our present small Chapel.

There were, however, troubles in store and the Father now launches out into a long account of a malicious slander circulated by a discontented Portuguese to the effect that 'we had killed so and so, and so and so, that we were spies and traitors to the Emperor whose salt we ate, that we stole whatever we could lay hands on, and other things much worse: *non erat malum in civitate* which was not our doing, especially mine.' The little congregation and more particularly the Armenian part of it began to look with suspicion on the Fathers: but the most interesting phase of the business to us is the fact that 'an English heretic, here, also took part in the affair, stirring up the Portuguese to say many things and then repeating them to us and inciting us to complain to the Emperor.'³ The Fathers were in great doubt as

¹ Possibly the incomplete '*Āina-i-Haqq-numa*. See p. 111 below.

² The new Church was apparently completed in Jahāngir's reign and a College was added which was built '*in litterae Z specimen*' (Botelho in Marsd. MSS. 9853, Brit. Mus). The Church according to one story was pulled down to appease a Muhammadan tumult and the Jesuits then built a less sumptuous one inside their College (*ib.*) According to Tavernier, an Armenian friend of Shāh Jahān's who lived near the Church objected to the bell ringing when he was ill, so Shāh Jahān had the bell removed and hung round the neck of his elephant: but as it was somewhat heavy it was ultimately taken off and deposited with the Kotwāl (Tav. ed. 1676, II. 70). Bernier says the tower as well as the greater part of the Church was pulled down by Shāh Jahān (Amst. ed. 1728, II. 80). According to Fanthome (*Rem. of Agra*, 1895, p. 30) the Church was added to in the Eighteenth century by Sumrū and Filose and is substantially the same as the present Chapel. Col. Kincaid in the Asiatic Quarterly for Jan. 1887 says, 'the building now occupied by the Catholic Mission Press is said to have been the first Christian Church [at Agra] and according to family tradition was founded by the Lady Juliana.' (cf. p. 53 above).

³ The English heretic was John Mildenall of whom Orme in his '*History of the Establishment of the English Trade at Surat*,' p. 341, gives the following account:

to the action which they should take. At first they were for laying the matter before Akbar, but they failed to obtain access to him, having to wait for hours while he disported himself in his Mahal. Then on reconsidering the matter they decided to do nothing: 'but the aforesaid Englishman seeing that he was losing this great opportunity of making mischief, went about aggravating matters and insinuating that we dared not appear before the Emperor, but the truth should be brought to light.' It seems however that the discontented Portuguese, having on the eve of the feast of St. John¹ sent a most intemperate letter to the Fathers, suddenly repented and next morning came and threw himself at their feet beseeching them by the wounds of Jesus to pardon his false calumnies. Whereupon the Fathers were again of half a mind to tell the Emperor the whole story and—

'Many incited us to do so especially the Englishman and his partners who pretended great zeal for our honour, but God made it clear that *'Latebat anguis in herba,'* for if we had taken the matter before the Emperor it would have bred some coldness and disaffection towards us among the Portuguese even if they did not believe the slanders, or would at least have thrown discredit on those who whether truly or falsely had said such things of their priests. The Englishman and others had determined to take this occasion of presenting a petition to the Emperor that he would allow their people to come into his ports and give them what they asked for, without having anything to do with the Portuguese, so that the whole thing was a diabolical plot, and when we refused to appeal to the Emperor, the Englishman was very disappointed at losing the opportunity, for he and his partners, who were most forward in persuading and assisting us to appeal to the Emperor, were now obliged to seek other means of furthering their ends. Did not the mercy of the Lord appear in this? *Fecit hac tentatione tantum proventum,* discovering a thousand things against us and

'He was bred a merchant and was employed whilst the establishment of the Company was under adjustment, to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Mogul, Acbar, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a residence of three years obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire, with which he returned as he came through Persia, and was at Casbin in October 1606 The rest of his story is very obscure. He returned to Persia, if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman Catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry.' Mildenall's own account of the business (which is too long to quote) will be found in his letter of 1606 at pp. 114—116 of Vol. I. of Purchas' Pilgrimes.

¹ Jerome says: 'It was the eve of St. John and our children and the Christians were jumping the fires.' Beltam Fires—on June 23rd—at Agra!

the Christians, which they had tried to obtain in favour of the English. One who was on their side now made known that he had been heavily bribed to prepare matters with the Emperor,¹ but after all this he turned against them, broke the agreement he had made, and in our presence tore up the paper each had secretly prepared. All this came of the previous persecution which the Lord Jesus brought to such a happy issue.....The Englishman tried by means of heavy bribes to obtain a *firmān* from the Emperor allowing his people to come into the ports, promising much profit, and many tried to procure it for him, but '*dominus dissipat concilia principum*,' and, as '*cor regis in manu Domini*,' the Emperor would never grant the request, though the Englishman persevered in asking it for two years, and we trust in our Lord God that many more may elapse before he obtains it. It is no small favour which our Lord does us in preventing a thing so prejudicial to the State and our Faith.'

At the beginning of March [1604] there had arrived in Agra from Lāhor a 'distinguished and learned Florentine João Battista Vechiete'² who had travelled 'in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia,' and who was much favoured by the Emperor. An interesting account of his books is then given:—

'He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly. He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew characters. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian character the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character,³ and gave them to us freshly copied into the Persian tongue and character, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old: he obtained them from some Jews in Persia at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant

¹ According to Mildenall the Jesuits had not been behind hand for they 'had given to the two chiefest counsellors that the king had, at least five hundred pounds sterling a piece that they should in no wise consent unto these demands of mine,' i.e. his demands for trading privileges for the English.

² He is probably one of the merchants referred to by Mildenall in his letter of 1606 from Qazwin in which he says: 'I would have come myself when I wrote this letter save that there were two Italian merchants in Agra that knew of all my proceedings whom I doubted, as I had good cause lest they would do me some harme.'

³ The regular custom among Persian Jews. See *Ind. Antiq.* XVII. 115.

that it arrived safely. We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe.'

Meantime Father Corsi came from Lāhor to Agra for a two months' stay. 'He has learnt Persian,' says Xavier, 'and commenced Hindūstānī, the language of this country; and by his capacity and desire to learn I think he will soon master Arabic as well.'

On one and the same day the whole party left Agra; Corsi and João Battista to go to Lāhor, Xavier and Machado to accompany the Emperor towards Bengal. The Emperor was in reality advancing against his son Salim who lay at Allāhābād and only turned back on hearing of the mortal illness of his mother: but when Xavier wrote, the object of the journey was kept in secrecy and Akbar had not as yet left Agra more than a march or two behind him.

The Father concludes this part of his letter by reporting the conversions of the past year. 'They had been few indeed,' he says, for 'the Muhammadans are truly unfit to receive the Holy Gospel, and we are certainly unfit instruments for the conversion of such hard hearts!' Including Portuguese and others, there had been during the year eight marriages and 25 baptisms. Then follow details regarding the baptism of two native infants and the conversion of a woman who was employed about the church.

Xavier then turns to describe the progress made at Lāhor. The Governor in those parts was 'a great enemy of our faith,' but though he was ready to persecute the Christians he was favourably inclined towards Pinheiro personally. The poorer Armenians in Lāhor made their livelihood by selling wine, 'for which they often get into trouble as the Viceroy holds their trade in detestation (though he drinks well himself),' and it was only when Pinheiro had persuaded these Armenians to desist from this calling that they were safe from the persecution of the Viceroy. Owing to Akbar's Firmān the Christians might practice their religion quite openly:—

'The feasts of Christmas and Easter are kept at Lāhor with great solemnity, and the church being so large and beautiful, everything can be well carried out. João Battista, the abovementioned Italian, was present at one of these feasts and wept with joy to see these things done openly in a land of Muhammadans. When he was with us in Agra he was overcome with surprise at the sight of the funeral of an honourable Armenian, when the Christians accompanied the funeral carrying lighted candles, the cross uncovered borne before them, the children singing the Creed, and the Fathers reciting prayers bringing up the rear.'

All the chiefs and principal persons of Lāhor, we are told, were on very good terms with the Fathers: 'So are the Viceroy and the principal

magistrates who set many free at their request even though they be Muhammadans or heathens, and often send them the Christians who are brought before them to be dealt with as the Fathers think fit.'

Troubles however were not wanting. A nephew of Abdulla Khān '(who died lately), the king of those parts of Maronhar [*Māwarān-nahr*] and Samarcand, which used to be the realm of the great Tamerlane,' was listening to a sermon in the Church, when one of his followers 'rose up and brandished his scimitar above the head of the Father who being deep in the sermon did not perceive it, but he was prevented by his fellows from cutting the Father's head off.' The Fathers also found themselves in a difficult position before the Viceroy, who 'is very zealous for his faith, and thinks himself learned beyond all past and present, looking down even on Aristotle.'¹ Accordingly when the Fathers supported their creed and 'contradicted the doctrine of Muḥammad,' the Viceroy would burst into a frenzy calling them vagabonds, &c. But he knew at the same time that they had Akbar's license to preach, and when Father Corsi went to Agra he began to fear that an ill report would be made of him and, having called for Pinheiro, said to him: 'Father, I am a friend to you and to the Lord Jesus: no one knows Him better than I do. He had the spirit of God and neither prophet nor angel could speak as he spoke.' He failed however to gain the confidence of the Fathers, as the following incident shows clearly enough:—

'One day when the Father visited him he was preparing a drink composed of sugarcandy and rosewater, as a refreshment in the great heat. He drank of it himself and so did some of the chiefs, and he went on preparing it and handing it round. He offered some to the Father among the first, asking if he would drink some of it. The Father could not excuse himself seeing the honour done to him by giving him the preference before the "Cazi" who is like the Bishop among us, and all the priests and learned men. But remembering that a few days ago the Viceroy had threatened to cut off his head, if he persisted in declaring the Divinity of Christ, and the hatred which the Viceroy has for all Christians, he was almost afraid to taste it, but in order to show no want of confidence and to meet his advances frankly he said: "Why should I not drink, when it is specially prepared by your hands?" He made the sign of the cross over it openly and drank. But the Father will not often trust himself to these honours, except where it is necessary to accept them in testimony of our Faith.'

Some days after the Viceroy's wife came to the Church, bringing an offering to Our Lady, and making a vow for the amendment of her son. This son we are told was 'given to evil courses and abandoned in

¹ 'Qulij Khān was a pious man and a staunch Sunni: he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of Ulfatī: some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the *Mirāt-ul'alām*.' Blochm. *Ain* I. 34 n.

moribus. His mother's advice has no effect on him, nor his father's punishments even when heavy and publicly administered.¹

Several gifts were made to the Church; among others 'several pieces of silver plate, *i.e.*, a beautiful thurible, a silver holy-water basin, and a stick for the holy-water sprinkler, and silver cruetts and plate beautifully chased.'

An Armenian merchant being nigh to death called in the Fathers and confessed to them and 'begged with much feeling that the passion of Jesus Christ should be read to him.' 'He was buried very differently from other Armenians, to show how the Roman Church honours, even after death, those who have been obedient to her in life.'

We also hear again of the Hungarian:—

'A young man from the realm of the Emperor [in Europe] captive to a Turk who made him prisoner in the late wars, came hither with his master, who set him free, but even when at liberty his fear of being re-taken was so great that he trembled at every step. The Fathers sent him to us at Agra and we received him and placed him with João Battista Vechiete who will take him back to his own land. This Hungarian knows the Christian doctrine and prayers in Latin and is going on well.'

Then follow some accounts of baptisms: and the letter concludes:—

'Few new Christians have been made this year at Lāhor, because of the fear they have of those who govern there. Some are being catechised. God give them strength to accept the way of Salvation. We all pray your Reverence and our beloved Fathers to assist us with your prayers and holy ministrations, to which we greatly recommend ourselves. From Agra the 6th Sept. 1604. Jerome Xavier.'

Father Pinheiro's letter from Lāhor, dated 12th August 1605.

Two months before Akbar's death Pinheiro addressed a letter to the Provincial, Manoel da Veiga, which continues the history of the mission at Lāhor. The original of the letter is among the Marsden MSS. No. 9854, in the British Museum, and though evidently utilized by Du Jarrie in his history, has not previously been published.

The letter is occupied almost entirely with an account of the tyrannies exercised by the Viceroy Qulij Khān, and his supporters and of the retribution which ultimately overtook them. Qulij Khān, we are told, besides being a persecutor of the Christians, whose name was 'as much feared in Hindūstān, as were formerly those of Nero and Diocletian,' was a tyrant even to his own people and thought no more of putting a man to death than of drinking a cup of water.

¹ Regarding the evil deeds of Mīrzā Lāhaurī, son of Qulij Khān, see Blochm. *Ain* I. 500.

‘Once when I was with him’, says Pinheiro, ‘some men were brought in, a person of some importance among them, and thinking they were sent by the Prince [Salīm], whose enemy he openly shows himself, in less than an hour, without further enquiry or confession from them he had them hung,—and they were afterwards found to be quite innocent.

His sons¹ were doing their best to imitate him: ‘one of them ordered a man who was going through the bāzār occupied in his own business to be hung, simply because he wished to see how it was done.’ At the same time Qulij’s enmity to the Prince Salim rendered him indispensable to Akbar in those disturbed times:—

‘The Emperor does nothing in the whole kingdom but what is pleasing to the Governor, having need of him to govern in these parts in case of a war with his son, for he is the Prince’s open enemy and publicly declares to the Emperor that he is his only faithful subject.....They looked on Calichão as a second Emperor and feared him as a magician, and through his arts the Emperor had been induced to put many chiefs to death, some of whom I knew, among others our friend Xencão (Zain Khān Koka)² the prince’s father-in-law and the defender of our religion.’

We have already seen from Xavier’s letter how concerned the Governor was at Corsi’s departure for Agra, which took place in June 1604: and Pinheiro’s account shows with what difficulty Corsi was able to get away.

‘The Nawāb [Qulij Khān] was displeased when he heard of his departure because, after he had given him leave, he told me not to let him go and sent me word to the same effect by his son. But in obedience to the order of Father Jerome Xavier and not to disappoint Father Corsi, I managed to arrange matters and let him go, although the time seemed ill-chosen, for many reasons, such as the dispute we had with the Nawāb about the Divinity of Christ which he denies.’

The Governor’s opposition was however mainly instigated by the Hindūs, and their enmity is ascribed by Pinheiro to the pertinacity with which he, Pinheiro, attacked their notorious immorality and to the anxiety with which he attempted to dissuade them from the com-

¹ This tallies with what Blochmann says of Mīrzā Lāhaurī (*Āin* I. 500): Chīn Qulij (of whom more below) seems to have been better. Pinheiro says that a married daughter of Qulij Khān used to come to the Church, as well as a young daughter of hers, and show great devotion. ‘I was surprised,’ he says, ‘that such a noble lady should send her young daughter to the Church, for they are kept so retired by the custom of the country, that it is not possible to see them even in case of illness. But by the goodness of the Lord Jesus, they all hold such a high opinion of the Fathers, that they send their wives and daughters to the Church, assured that they are quite safe’.

² Zain Khān’s daughter was married to Salim. ‘His death in 1602-3 was due,’ says Blochmann, ‘partly to excessive drinking,’ *Āin* I. 345.

mon crime of infanticide. The heathen accordingly took counsel together against him as follows:—

‘As concerns the Nawāb, it will be sufficient to accuse the Father every day of grievous things which even if they are not believed will be enough to throw discredit upon him. We can do this the more easily that his friends the Nawābs Xamaradin [? Qamru-d-dīn] and Xencão [Zain Khān] are dead,¹ and the present Nawāb Calichicão is hostile to him, as he has shown on many occasions because of the religion he preaches. So we shall get the Father driven from Lāhor and the church, which we hate, destroyed.’

For the time being Pinheiro was able to re-assure the Governor, but shortly afterwards the Hindūs, obtaining the aid of a young man who was a favourite of the Governor’s,—

‘Gave him a rich present from the heathen who were the Father’s enemies, together with a defamatory libel: the best things contained in it were that the Father ate human flesh, fattened up young men and sent them away to be sold in Portuguese lands, murdered people and had killed a tailor’s wife not four days ago: that he was a great wizard and by his spells made men renounce their religion and adopt an unknown one, and so he had done to the son of a paṇḍit,’ &c.

The Governor was still afraid to seize any Christians in the city in case the matter should come to Akbar’s ears, but he determined to seize any whom he could find in the Fort. A Portuguese was thereupon arrested inside the Fort and after much beating was induced to say the Kalma, ‘their cursed Muhammadan creed,’ after which he was kept under guard but well treated. Pinheiro at once went to confront the Governor, but could not see him ‘as he was occupied with a visitor of whom a great deal is made by some because he is learned and a son of a great master among the former Kings of Camarcão [Samarqand], by others because he is the son-in-law of the King of Maivenar (Māwarān-nahr) and Camarcão.’ When Pinheiro gained admittance, he protested against the Governor’s conduct, but Qulij Khān swore by Martes Alli (Murtizā ‘Alī), by the Prophet’s head and his own, that no compulsion had been used to make the Portuguese turn Muhammadan. Pinheiro had to go away in sorrow, but on his way through the city saw the man being negligently guarded, whereupon, he says, he ‘drew near with unutterable joy and taking the lost sheep upon his shoulders bore him out of the city’ The Portuguese having been sent off to Agra and his wife and children having been put in safety, Pinheiro was able once more to confront the Governor and submit to examination. ‘When asked,’ he says, ‘what had become of the man, I answered that he had not been to my house nor to his

¹ See p. 84 above.

own, since he was taken prisoner.' Whereupon 'a dark cloud fell upon the Nawāb and his followers and no more was heard of the Portuguese who had turned Musalmān.'

A greater trouble took place in connection with certain houses which Akbar had granted to the mission. These houses had belonged to a Hindū called Pan [Pannū Rām] who defaulted to the Emperor to the extent of 3 lakhs and was dispossessed of his property: and the Fathers used them as a shelter for married Christians. The Hindūs offered the Governor '2000 rupees beside other things of price' for these houses, and Pinheiro was forthwith ordered to vacate them within five days, which he did, saying that 'the law of Jesus Christ forbade him to enter into strife for houses or lands.' The Governor at first ordered the Kotwāl to give Pinheiro other houses in exchange for them, but he subsequently revoked the order and the Hindūs were triumphant, thinking that the church also would now soon come into their hands. Pinheiro meanwhile had written to Xavier about all the troubles at Lāhor and action was taken at Agra:—

'I informed Father Jerome Xavier more than once of what had happened, but he did not think it proper to speak to the Emperor at that time, because he was very sad, firstly because his mother who is over 90 is at the point of death, secondly and chiefly because he is at variance with his son who is making head against him. But although the Father did not wish to add to his sorrow by these tidings, he spoke to him about the houses, which had been taken from us, because our credit greatly depended on it, and if they were returned to us it would be clear that the Emperor favoured us and considered us above the Governor. As soon as Father Francis Xavier informed the Emperor of the matter, he ordered a letter to be written to Calichcño to return the houses to the Fathers. The letter was written by the Emperor's Wazir, and the following is a translation of it¹:—

"Beloved and fortunate chief, live and prosper under the protection of God. After compliments. I would have your Excellency know that by order of him whom all the world obeys, the houses of Pan were converted into a Church and dwelling houses for the Fathers and their people. A petition reaches us showing that the Nawāb has expelled the Fathers from the houses where their servants were lodged. He whom all the world obeys commands that as these houses were his property and given by him to the Fathers, they and their people be forthwith reinstated in them, and Your Excellency shall prevent any one from molesting or hindering them herein. These words are written by order of the Emperor."

The letter was not as authoritative as a *firmān* but came to much the same thing, and Pinheiro was enabled by its help to regain the

¹ A full translation with all the compliments will also be found in a separate MS. in the Brit. Mus. Marsden MSS. 9854, in Pinheiro's handwriting.

houses. But scarcely had he done so when the Governor issued orders, depriving him again of their possession and Father Xavier had to be applied to once more. This time a regular *firmān* was obtained and what was more the Prince himself was the 'porvanazi' of it¹: the Governor had now no excuse for evasion and ordered the houses to be given up 'within an hour,' thus bringing to an end an episode which had been a cause of great vexation to the Fathers.

Meantime in other respects, things had been going ill enough. At one time the Governor had threatened to exterminate the Christians in Lāhor and the community was in such fear that 'some twenty three Armenian merchants fled with haste escaping through different gates.' Pinheiro adds: 'as it seems they have no mind to be martyrs, may God make them good confessors. I met three or four of them but they would not be seen speaking to me as they did not wish to be known as Christians—God help them.' As regards himself he writes:—

'I confess to Your Reverence that death was always before my eyes and I prepared myself for it as well as I could: but the happy hour so desired by me never arrived. The Lord did not deem me worthy of such high bliss: may his infinite mercy put me in the power of some one who does not fear the Emperor, for it was this that made the tyrant desist from the attempt which he had such good wish to accomplish. Your Reverence should have seen the surprise of the people as I came and went through the streets, one saying to the other: "Does not the Governor intend to kill the Father? how comes it that he goes backwards and forwards with the same security as before?"'

When one of the Governor's sons protested with him for not killing the Father, Qulij Khān drew him a little aside and said: 'Leave the forsaken wretch alone; no one who is a Musalmān at heart will ever embrace his religion,' 'continuing,' says Pinheiro, 'in a lower voice. "He has the Emperor's permission who is an unbelieving Cafar [Kāfir] like himself."'

The Hindūs, however, still agitated for repressive measures. In order to secure their claims on the Church (which had not then been yet safeguarded by the *firmān*) they invited the Governour to a banquet in an adjoining house and gave him a present of 9,000 rupees 'i.e., 9 horses,² several other things and 2,000 rupees in money.' Pinheiro felt safe enough about the church buildings, but he received warnings from the friendly Kotwāl that there were designs on foot for seizing the women and children of the Christian community and he took

¹ Sc. parwānchī. The porvanazi according to Pinheiro is 'he who gives the order for a *firmān*.'

² Qulij Khān was famous for his love of horses. Blochm., *Ain* I. 345.

prompt steps for placing all these in a place of safety. He wished also to conceal the Catechumens, but they indignantly refused, and conspicuously among them a certain Xequé [? *Shaiikh*]¹ who had before conversion practised as a sorcerer. At last the Governour actually fixed a day for the arrest and forcible conversion of all the Christians in Lāhor. The day fixed was Thursday the 15th September [1604], but (says Pinheiro)—

‘On the eve of the appointed day, the Governour’s son returned a fugitive from the seat of war,² having left his army defeated with the loss of 400 cavalry and a large number of infantry. On his arrival, his father set out to his assistance and the Christian army which was scattered and hidden again gathered together, the sheep and lambs no longer fearing the wolf.’

This was the end of the troubles caused by Qulij *Khān* at Lāhor. ‘On his return from Bāna [? *Bannū*], the place where he had gone to make war, news came that the Prince [Salim] was marching on Lāhor:’ the news apparently proved untrue, but the Governour was in great perturbation and began to prepare for a siege: he was summoned several times to Agra, but gave excuses: he even made as though he would fly to Kābul, but shortly returned; and at last went to the Emperor at Agra, where ‘he suffered many mortifications in spite of a rich present which he gave.’

While Qulij *Khān* was away, the government was carried on by his son Chīn Qulij, who although he had formerly incited his father to oppress the Christians now showed himself in a very friendly light.³ He went so far as to visit the Church and the Father gives the following account of his visit:—

‘When he had entered the Church and seen the statue of the Blessed Virgin, he was quite changed and no longer seemed like a man full of worldly pride, but like a humble Christian and treated us with great respect and marks of affection. He was an hour and a half or two hours in the Church

¹ It is not quite clear what Pinheiro means by a Xequé. He himself says: ‘a Xequé must be one of three things: *i.e.*, a man mortified in all his passions, a teacher such as the founder of a religion, or he must have written five books bearing on history.’ The definition seems to have a Hindu air about it and he moreover implies in his letter that the Xequé above mentioned was brother to the paṇḍit convert who had fled to Agra: if so, Xequé can scarcely be *Shaiikh*.

² It is not clear what war this was: perhaps *Ghāzī* Beg’s rebellion in Sindh (Blochm., *Ain* I. 363), or more probably some frontier trouble with *Raushānis* or others. If Bāna mentioned just below be Bannu, this must have been a frontier war.

³ Chīn Qulij is described in the *Maāsiru-l-‘Umrā* as an educated and liberal man, well versed in Government matters: Blochm., *Ain* I. 500.

and at our house, where he saw our books and listened to some of the Gospel Stories and things concerning our religion with patience and attention. He ate some dried fruit with great familiarity, as if he were our dear friend and not the son of Calichcão, the greatest enemy of the Faith of Christ. Your Reverence will understand that it was a great thing for him to eat and drink in our house, because they think it a great sin to eat with Christians, and consider him a Christian who eats the bread of Christians from Christian hands.....He begged us so earnestly for a picture of Christ that I was obliged to give it to him. He asked for another which is in the Church, and I asked a noble who is a great friend of his to dissuade him from pressing the point, and after he had done so he excused himself to me with many compliments and friendly offers. He offered me a hundred rupees and when I explained that the Fathers could not take money from any one, he was overcome with surprise and related the fact to many.' [Then follows a relation of other cases in which Christians had caused surprise by refusing to receive presents].

Then follows a quaint episode:—

'I went to see him afterwards, and he received me with smiles and affection. A rich present had been brought to him, amongst other things two flasks of precious liquor which he held in either hand. I said: 'Sir, here is our basket, in which we receive the Emperor's alms. May we not have your coin also?' He put down what he held and took the basket. The person who held his money said. 'I will toss up, for the Father:' but he replied: 'No. I will do it myself.' The first throw was not favourable, and he tossed again and then returned the basket to me with pleasure to the surprise of the by-standers. These little things are very important here, though they may be laughed at elsewhere,'

Even the old Qulij Khān proved more tractable after this and when a firmān came from the Emperor ordering that 1,000 rupees should be given to the Fathers, he went so far as to write on the firman 'Belal carcar' [? bilāe kāt-kūt]: if this had not been done, says Pinheiro, the Fathers would according to the usual custom have received only 333 rupees out of the 1,000.

Before Qulij Khān returned, however, the Government was for a time in the hands of Caidcão [Said Khān] and Mirzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, as Subadār and Diwān respectively, two offices that had been combined under Qulij Khān. 'Both,' says Pinheiro, 'received us with many promises especially the Divão whom we know best.' Of Mirzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm all that we know is apparently that he was nephew of Mirzā Haidar the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*.¹ The histories tell us more of Said Khān, a Chaghatai noble who had just repressed the rebellion of Ghāzī Khān in Sindh.² It appears that Ghāzī Khān who had made submission was then on his way to Akbar's court, for Pinheiro gives the follow-

¹ Blochm., *Ain* I. 464.

² Blochm., *Ain* I. 331.

ing account of a distinguished visit with which his chapel was then favoured:—

‘The son of the Nawāb Caidcāo, Mirza Cedula [Saidulla¹] son in law of Canazāo [Khān ‘Azam Mīrzā ‘Azīz Koka], came and brought with him Mirza Gazis [Ghāzī] son of Mirza Jānī who was king of Sind. They stayed a long while examining the Church and in our house enquired much concerning Jesus Christ and our religion with great modesty and submission so that they seemed more like disciples of the Fathers than the great princes that they are. They came with a regal retinue, and the people knowing that they were coming to our house thronged the streets, doors, roofs and windows. The great crowd was a magnificent sight.’

To add to the Father’s satisfaction, a just retribution overtook the chief of his Hindū opponents and he does not narrate their misfortunes without a certain gleam of malicious pleasure. One of these was arrested by Said Khān for some act of violence and was dragged to prison through the city by the hair of his head: his houses were destroyed and he with difficulty made his escape from the town. Another lost his son who being but a small child ‘was buried near the river according to their custom, but the dogs dug him up and devoured him leaving only his head.’ A third, the most violent persecutor of all, who held a pargana worth over two lakhs of rupees, fled from the new Diwān, but his son and brother were arrested and thrown into a narrow prison where ‘they were obliged to pay the guards 20 or 30 rupees each a day for food, and a rupee apiece for the slightest necessity of nature: and moreover were beaten and ill-treated and called to account for three lakhs of rupees.’ ‘Truly’ says Pinheiro, ‘the vengeance of God is hidden...May God repay them for the trouble they have given us by converting them to our Holy Faith. Amen.’

As regards the results of the year Pinheiro has to confess that ‘the events above related closed the door to conversions during the year, so that we have not any to relate.’ But at the close of his letter he adds: ‘Two persons of importance, at least, have asked for baptism: they are Persians, and beside being rich are of very good parts,’ and he proceeds to describe the somewhat strange arguments which induced one of them to reject Muhammadanism for Christianity.

In conclusion the Father says: ‘I should be glad if your Reverence could communicate this letter to Father Francisco Cabral,² who by

¹ Blochm., *Ain* I. 363.

² Francisco Cabral was for many years a Professor at Goa and went to Japan in 1570, returning apparently soon after 1584. We do not know exactly what connection he had with the Mughal Mission. He died in 1609 at Goa. See *Nouvelle Biographie Generale* sv. Backer *Hist. des Ecrivains Jesuites*, serie ii. p. 92, and De Sousa *Or. Cong.* II. 434.

his labour here may be called the founder of this mission. Your Reverence's unworthy son Manoel Pinheiro.'

* * * * *

On the 15th of October 1605, scarcely two months after the above letter was written, Akbar died at Agra.

The Results of the Missions.

These missions are perhaps unique as an attempt on the part of a large Society in Christendom to convert a single individual, and in so far as they represented an attempt of this nature they were undoubtedly failures. Whether Akbar died a Muhammadan or not is, perhaps, a moot point,¹ but it is certain that he did not die a Christian. Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain Terry who were in India eleven years later, are clear on this point. Sir Thomas writing from Ajmīr on 30th October 1616,² says :—

'In this confusion they (the Muhammadans) continued until the time of Akbar *Shāh*, father of this king, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions and that excelled in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa whose chief was Jerome Xavier, a Navarrais. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their, part, and caused Xavier to write a book in defence of his own profession against both Moors and Gentiles, which finished he read over nightly, causing some parts to be discussed, and finally granted them his letters patent to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely and amply as in Rome; bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. So that in some few cities they have gotten rather *Templum* than *Ecclesiam*. In this grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christian that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him.

'Here was a fair beginning to a forward spring of a lean and barren harvest. Akbar *Shāh* himself continued a Muhammadan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, considering that as Muhammad was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward reverence detained him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect.'

So too Terry in his *Voyage to East India* (ed. 1777, p. 419) describes at some length the sort of arguments used by Xavier in the disputations held before Akbar, 'which' says he, 'that king heard

¹ Price, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 77. Blochm. *Ain* I. 212.

² Purchas i. 586.

patiently several times during the space of one year and a half, but at last he sent him away back again¹ to Goa honourably, with some good gifts bestowed on him, telling him as Felix did Paul, after he had so reasoned before him, 'that he would call for him again when he had a convenient time' Acts xxiv. 25. Which time or season neither of them ever found afterward.'²

The Jesuits themselves admit that they were unable to administer the consolations of their religion to Akbar in his last moments. The following is the narrative given by the Provincial in his report of 20th December, 1607³ :—

'The Emperor having lived so that none could say to what religion he belonged, God in his righteous judgment deprived him in his last hour of the Christian faith, the which, however, he had formerly much praised and favoured. As soon as our missionaries heard of his illness they went to visit him, but finding him in apparent good health they did not find it advisable then to speak to him of the life to come. When next day it was rumoured in the city that the Emperor had been poisoned, they went again, but were not admitted by the chamberlains although they announced themselves the bearers of healing medicines... When the Emperor was in his last agonies, the Muhammadans bade him think on Muḥammad, whereon he gave no sign save that he repeated often the name of God.'

And still more clearly is the nature of Akbar's end shown in a manuscript report⁴ written by Father Antony Botelho, who was Provincial some years after Akbar's death. In this report the Father narrates a conversation which he held with the Idal Shāhī Prince of Bijapur and in which the prince had said to him: 'Sachehe qui barā Batxa Hācabar Christāu muhā qui nan?' [Sac hai ki barā bādshāh Akbar Kristān muā ki nahī? Is it true or not that the great Emperor Akbar died a Christian?] To which the Father replied: 'Sire, I would it were so: but the Emperor while living failed to be converted, and at the last died as he was born, a Muhammedan.'

Compared with the conversion of the Emperor the evangelization

¹ This, as well as the term of a year and a half, is an error.

² In the Introd. to Gentil's *Memoires*, p. 22, n. we are told that Akbar promised to embrace the religion selected for him by an intelligent monkey: three cards were put in a bag: the monkey taking out that of Muhammadanism tore it up in a rage: that of Hinduism it used in a still more ignoble way: while that of Christianity it lifted reverently to its head. Akbar, however, demanded leave to have several wives: 'on le lui refuse, et it n'y pensa plus.' The story of the monkey is ascribed to Jahāngīr's reign in Bry's *India Orientalis*, which contains an amusing picture of the episode. So also by Roe (M. Thevenot *Relations*, p. 79).

³ *Drei Neue Relationes* (Augsburg, 1611).

⁴ Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS. 9853.

of the common people¹ appears to have been held throughout as a matter of somewhat secondary importance, and the extent of success attending the Jesuit efforts in this direction can be pretty fairly judged from the extracts given from their letters in this paper. The acme of success was reached in the succeeding reign, when the churches of Agra and Lāhor increased in popularity and two new churches were started at Delhi. With Shāhjahān, however, a new era arose, the imperial support was entirely withdrawn, the Lāhor and Agra churches were either destroyed or greatly impaired,² and by the time of Aurangzeb there was but little left of the Christianity introduced by the Jesuits in Northern India. In 1739 the Churches at Delhi were destroyed by the soldiery of Nādir Shāh in the great massacre of that year.³

In estimating, however, the success or otherwise of these Jesuit Missions, it must not be forgotten that they had to some extent a political as well as a religious object in view. It will have been already observed that even the saintly Rodolfi Aquaviva supplied the authorities at Goa with political information and pushed the interests of the Portuguese at the Mughal Court.⁴ It is clear too, from the various extracts quoted in this paper, that the Fathers were at all times supporters of Portuguese claims, and it is even possible (see *Noer*, I. 489) that the third mission was undertaken mainly on political grounds and that the Jesuit superiors had from the beginning little belief in the conversion of the Emperor.

At any rate the fact that the Portuguese authorities looked on the Jesuits at the Mughal Court in the light of useful political informants is abundantly evident from the following passages which occur in letters addressed by the King of Portugal to the Viceroy at Goa⁵:—

In a letter dated Lisbon the 28th January 1596, the king referring to a letter from the late Viceroy Martin d' Albuquerque, writes: 'He also tells me [in his letter] that Akbar had written him some letters, and

¹ The most useful work done by the Jesuits was probably their spiritual attendance on Europeans and Eurasians in the Mughal Empire: but this was, of course, apart from their purely missionary duties.

² See notes on pp. 71 and 93, above.

³ *Letters Edifiantes et Curieuses* IV. 260. The history of Christianity in Northern India during the two centuries following Akbar's death has yet to be written; it is full of curious vicissitudes and there are many episodes such as that of Dārā Shikoh and that of Juliana, which would give interest to such a history.

⁴ See p. 58, above.

⁵ See Mr. Rehatsek in *Calc. Rev.* January 1886. The letters are given in Sēnor da Cunha Ravara's '*Archivo Portuguez Oriental*,' Fasc. 3: but as the third fasciculus of this book is not in the British Museum the above quotations are made from Mr. Rehatsek's article.

among these one which he had sent by an Armenian Christian, who had given him suitable information about our power and prosperity: furthermore that the said Akbar wanted some men of letters to be sent to him and complained of the quick departure of the Jesuits despatched to him by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho when he was Governor, and that he [Albuquerque] had considered the matter with some prelates and monks, who were of opinion that two learned monks should be sent, and that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus forthwith offered his own ecclesiastics with the same zeal for the service of God and for mine with which he had given the two others, as well as a very learned layman, and I recommend you to thank the said Provincial on my part, as well as for those of his order which he has given to go to Ethiopia, and that you should favour these things and keep me always informed about them.'

Similarly on 5th February, 1597 the king again writes: 'He [Albuquerque] also tells me that he had a letter from Jeronimo Xavier, a friar of the Society, written at the court of Akbar, in which he informs him that, after enduring many hardships in a land-journey of five months, he had, with two friars in his company, arrived at the court of the Mogol, who received them with much pomp, and that he himself, as well as the prince with his captains, expressed great admiration at the taking of the Morro [a fort opposite Chaul which the Portuguese had conquered from the Deccan Moslems]¹ and that he asked them to make haste to learn the Persian language because he desired to speak to them without interpreters on the reasons which had induced him to invite them to his Court. I recommend you to encourage and to aid the friars of the Society to make progress in the mission for which they have been sent, and to attain the good result expected therefrom.'

And again on 15th January 1598:—'You are also to give me an account how the two friars of the Society are at the court of the Moghul, and although they have hitherto not produced any fruit, their aid is necessary in continuing to give us every information about the king as they now do. This I approve of, for the reasons you adduce, and I have also other information in conformity with them. It is chiefly to be taken into consideration that the fruit, which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest. Accordingly you are to make arrangements with the Provincial of the Society, in case these friars should die or be necessarily recalled, for sending others so that some may always be there as now.'

Writing in 1616, Sir Thomas Roe talks of Corsi as having been the 'Resident' of the king of Spain. (Melch. Thevenot, *Relations* p. 78) and Terry describes him as 'Agent for the Portugals' (Purchas, II. 1482).

How far the Jesuits proved politically useful to the Goa authorities during Akbar's reign we have no adequate means of judging. Their

¹ Cf. Fariay Sousa, 'The Portuguese in Asia', translated by John Stevens, 1695, III, 69.

energy in the promotion of Portuguese interests during the reign of Jahāngir is sufficiently manifested by the very free comments made on their tactics by the English travellers of the period (See *e.g.*, Terry's *Voyage* Ed. 1777 p. 422, and Hawkins, on p. 34 Wheeler's *Early Travellers in India*).

Ultimately the Jesuits failed in this as in their other objects. They failed to convert the Emperor. They failed to propagate Christianity in Northern India. They failed to circumvent the English. And yet the episode, so full of failure, is not, I venture to think, without its lessons and an interest of its own.

APPENDIX.

Note on the Persian works of Father Jerome Xavier.

The opportunity may be taken here to describe shortly the Persian works written by Jerome Xavier,¹ although most of these were written after Akbar's death.

(i) *Mirātu-l-Quds* (the Mirror of Holiness) or *Dāstān-i-Masīh*. (Life of Christ). The preface of this work commences with a curious conceit regarding the example of 'Akbar Bādshāh Idīsha', *i.e.*, Abgarus King of Edessa, who sent to make enquiries regarding Jesus and received a picture of Christ's likeness. So, too, under the orders of His Majesty, this work had been written by Jerome Xavier, who having known the subject for 40 years and having studied Persian for 7 or 8 years had ventured to undertake the duty. The preface is dated Agra the 15th Urdibihisht 1602.

Then follows the book itself divided into four parts, *viz.* (I) the Nativity and Infancy of Christ, (II) His Miracles and Teaching, (III) His Death and Suffering and (IV) His Resurrection and Ascension. In Xavier's account, the Bible narratives are freely supplemented from the apocryphal gospels and elsewhere: and the writer acknowledges in his preface and conclusion that this is the case.²

The book seems to have been first written out in Portuguese.³ According to the concluding note, the translation into Persian was made by 'Abdu-s-sattār ibn Qāsim⁴ of Lāhor conjointly with Xavier himself

¹ See Mr. Rehatssek on p. 18 *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1886: Dr. C. Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum: and Mr. Beveridge in *J. A. S. B.* 1888.

² See the translation of the preface and the abstract of Part I given by Prof. Blochmann in *Proc. A. S. B.*, May 1870, p. 140. Also the full, though very unsympathetic, account of the work given by Mr. A. Rogers in his article on 'The Holy Mirror or the gospel according to Father Jerome Xavier,' in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1890. Also the same writer's paper on 'A Persian History of Christ and St. Peter by Jerome Xavier, S. J.' read before the Royal Asiatic Society on March 10th 1896.

³ Du Croze, *Hist. Chr.* 521.

⁴ De Dieu has 'Abdu-s-sanarīm Qāsim'

(ba'ittifāq-i-īn banda) and the book was completed in A.D. 1602, the 47th year of the holy Reign. Of the *Dāstān* Professor Blochmann (*Proc.*, A. S. B., May 1870 p. 146) says: 'The Persian of J. Xavier's work is easy and flowing. There are very few passages, if any, that sound outlandish.' The British Museum possesses two MSS. of this work. One of these (Add. 16878 foll 74 of the Yule Collection) is an imperfect Nasta'liq, copy written apparently in India in the 18th century: the other (Harl. 5455 fol. 215) is a complete copy in plain Nasta'liq, written apparently in India and dated Ramzān A. H. 1027 (A.D. 1618).

The work was edited with a translation and Latin notes at Leyden in 1739 by the Professor Louis de Dieu, a Protestant, under the title داستان مسیح *Historia Christi Persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata a P. Hieronymo Xavier Soc. Jesu, Latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu.*" Mr. Beveridge remarks: De Dieu was a man of worth and learning, and the Jesuit Alegambe admits that his translation of Xavier's Persian is a good one, though he says he has added heretical notes which ought to be burnt. There is a notice of De Dieu in Bayle's Dictionary. He is very bitter in his remarks on Xavier and his object in making the translation and publishing the work appears to have been to show how the Jesuits adulterated the pure milk of the Word. But still all must feel grateful to him for having been the means of preserving a knowledge of Xavier's curious work.'

(ii) '*Dāstān-i-San Pedro*' or Life of St. Peter. This work was also edited by De Dieu in 1739 with a Latin Translation and notes: the running title being '*Historia S. Petri sed contaminata.*' The work itself does not mention its author, but there seems no doubt that it is Xavier's.¹

(iii) The *Āīna-i-Ḥaqq Numā* or Truth-reflective Mirror: completed in 1609. Dr. Rieu thus describes the British Museum MS. (Hrll. 5478) which is written partly in Nasta'liq, and partly in *Shikasta-āmez*, and dated Jumāda I, the sixth year of the reign (probably that of Jahāngīr = A.H. 1019. A. D. 1620):—"It is stated in the heading that the author Padre Geronimo Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus came from Goa to Lahore where he was presented at Court, A. D. 1596.² In the preface which follows, the author states that he had enjoyed, twelve years previously, the privilege of kissing the Imperial threshold, and that he now dedicated this work to Jahāngīr as a slight return for past favours, and a humble offering on the occasion of his accession. The work is written in the form of a dialogue³ between the Padre and a philosopher or free thinker (*Ḥakīm*) whom he purports to have met at Court, while in some parts, a Mulla intervenes as a third interlocutor. It is divided into 5 books (*Bāb*) sub-divided into Chapters (*Faṣl*), a full table of which is given at the end of the preface, foll. 14b-18a. The five books are as follows: 1. Necessity of a divine law. fol. 18a. 2. What Christianity teaches regarding God, and proofs of its

¹ See Prof. Blochm., *Proc. A. S. B.*, May 1870, p. 145.

² Really 1595.

³ See above p. 82.

being conformable to reason, fol. 73b. 3. Divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord: fol. 208a (the end of this book and the beginning of the next are missing). 4. Commandments of the Gospel and their contrast with those of Muḥammad; fol. 322a. The strength imparted by the Christian faith and its superiority to other religions; fol. 437b.' Of the style of this book Dr. Lee writes¹ 'It is very evident that the writer was a man of considerable ability and energy, and that he has spared no pains to recommend his religion to the Mahomedan or heathen reader: but that he has trusted much more to his own ingenuity, than to the plain and unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures. His style is, upon the whole correct, though occasionally interspersed with Europeanisms, but it never makes the most distant approach to what may be termed elegance.'

An abridgement of the above was subsequently brought out by Xavier under the title '*Muntakhab-i-Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*' and a copy of this abridgement is among the British Museum Manuscripts (Add. 23584). 'In a long preface addressed to Jahāngīr,' says Dr. Rieu, 'the author... mentions his previous work entitled *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* to which he had devoted so many years, and says that finding the Emperor's time taken up by the cases of Government, he extracted its substance for his use, and condensed it in the present "selection." This work, which is not, like the former, written in the form of a dialogue, contains the following four Chapters (Faṣl): 1. Knowledge of the nature of God; fol. 7b. 2. On Jesus our Lord; fol. 19a. 3. Commandments of the Gospel; fol. 32b. 4. Divine Assistance; fol. 43a.'

This work found its way to Persia and there called forth the reply: *Misqal-i-Safā dar tahliyah-i-Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* or 'The Clean Polisher for the brightening of the Truth-Reflecting Mirror:' the author of which Sayyid Aḥmad B. Zain-ul-Ābidīn, says that in A. H. 1032 (A. D. 1622-3) he had been shown by two Christian priests, Padre Juan and Padre Brio, a copy of the *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*² written by the great Christian divine known as Padre Mīmīlād (?). This again called forth two rejoinders: one by Father Bonav. Malvalia in 1628,³ and the other by a Franciscan, Philip Guadagnoli.⁴ This latter was published at Rome in 1631 under the title: '*Apologia pro Christiana religione que a R. P. Philippo Gadagnolo respondetur ad objectiones Ahmad filii Zin Alabadin, Persæ Aspahahensis, contentas in libro incripto Politor speculi*,' and it is reported (see de Backer. *Bibl. des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus*, VII. 415) to have had the effect of converting the said Sayyid Aḥmad.!

A very full account of the *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* will be found in Dr. Lee's preface to Henry Martyn's 'Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mahomedanism. Cambridge 1824'. In the same preface will be found an

¹ Preface to H. Martyn's *Controversial Tracts* p. XL.

² The quotations show that the book seen was the *Muntakhab*, Rieu, *Persian MSS.* I. 28.

³ Not in the Brit. Mus.

⁴ See M. Thevenot *Relation de divers Voyages. Discours sur les Mémoires de Thos. Rhoë*, p. 12.

account of Gadagnoli's book and of a book by Sayyid Ahmad called

كُتَابُ الْوَاوِعِ الرَّائِيَةِ فِي رَدِّ شَيْبَةِ الْفَرَنْجِيَّةِ, A book of divine rays in refutation of Christian error,' published¹ in A. D. 1631 in reply to a work written by a European priest: this book may be the same as the '*Politor Speculi*,' but Rieu (Cat. I. 29) refers to it as an earlier work of the same author.

It will suffice to quote here the remarkable prayer contained in the preface to the *Āina-i-Haqq-numā*:² 'Pardon, O Lord, should I do what is displeasing in Thy sight by intruding myself into the things and properties that belong to Thee. Men plunge into the deep ocean, there to fetch pearls and other precious things. Therefore, O Sea of Perfections, suffer me to sink deep into Thee and thence to enrich myself and my brethren, who are Thy servants; and by describing Thy greatness and mercies, to help them. For, although I am unworthy to speak to Thee, Thou art worthy that all should endeavour to praise Thee; since Thou art possessed of infinite goodness and beauty O Lord my God, this will be fruitless, unless Thou assist both me and them with Thy infinite mercy. Give unto us, O Lord, the key of the knowledge of Thee. Grant to our understandings the power of understanding Thy greatness, that Thy majesty and grace may not be to us an occasion of stumbling, and hence remain unbled by Thy many favours. Let not that come upon us what happens to the bat, which is blinded by the light of the sun; and which in the midst of light remains in darkness. Give us enlightened and far-discerning eyes, that we may believe in that greatness of which Thou art, and which for our sakes Thou hast revealed. And that by these words and actions we may so follow Thee, that in paradise we may see Thy Godhead in the mirror of light, which in this world, we can only contemplate by faith as in a glass [darkly]. Amen.'

The above are the best known of Xavier's works, but the following also are noticed in catalogues, &c.:—

iv. '*Lives of the Twelve Apostles* of Jesus Christ, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. at Agrah, at the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609, 8vo.' (*Bibl. Marsdeniana*, p. 305 cf. *Uri. Bib. Bodl. Cod. Cat.*, p. 270).

v. '*Psalterio de David conforme a edição vulgata traducido polo P. Jeronimo Xavier da C. de J. na cidade de Agra, corte do gran Mogol Jahanguir* (Persian Translation of the Psalms of David.) 8vo.' (*Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305).

vi. '*The Guide of Kings* composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. and addressed to the Mogol Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609. Sin fol.' (*Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305).

vii. *A History of the Martyrs.* (De Backer *Bibl. des Ecrivains de la comp. de Jésus*, vii. 415).

¹ Lee refers to a copy in Queen's College Library at Cambridge.

² *Cal. Rev.* 1886, p. 9. Lee's *Preface to Martyn's Controversial Tracts*, p. vii.

The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgarī-alphabet.—By

NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU.

[Read April, 1896.]

A vehement discussion is going on amongst antiquarians and Sanskrit scholars concerning the origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, the late Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, was the first to raise the question. With the view of ascertaining the date of the Nāgarī-alphabet and the origin of its name, he has sent letters to the best Indian Paṇḍits and oriental scholars requesting them to acquaint him with their individual views upon the points in question.

Having had the honour of being consulted by two of the gentlemen addressed by him, I now venture to lay the following suggestions before the Society, in the hope that they may give rise to further inquiries.

I surmise that the following are the main points to be noticed in order to gain an idea of the origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet :—

1. What is the cause of the name Nāgara ?
2. Where did the name arise from ?
3. Who gave the name, and have they any connection with the alphabet ?
4. Date of its origin.
5. Development and progress of the Nāgarākṣara.

Some Indian Paṇḍits derive the name from *nagara* (a city). The letters received by Paṇḍit Ćambhucandra Vidyāratna from Paṇḍit Vāmaṇācārya and others of Benares are to the same effect. The other Paṇḍits of Benares explain the word *dēva-nāgara* as ‘born in a divine city.’ Others say that this alphabet was originally used in the *dēvalōka* and hence its name *dēva-nāgara*. In my humble opinion, the above conjectures cannot be taken as accurate. For if the explanation of the expression be such as “नगरे भवं (born in a city)” the word नगर may mean any city,—and there can be no certainty as to what city is meant. According to the rules of rhetoric, we are, when pointing to a particular alphabetic designation required to mention the exact place or person it

owes its origin to. But the upholders of the first theory like the advocates of the second, have not done so. Consequently the conclusion नगरे भवं, (born in a city) and hence the name *Nāgara* falls to the ground.

In the well-known encyclopædic lexicon the 'Çabda-kalpa-druma' edited by the late Sir Rājā Rādhākānta Dēva, and in the *Vācaspatya*, we find the signification of the word *Nāgara* to be 'akṣara of the *Nāgara-dēça*.' But as no authority is adduced in support of it, the later dictionaries have not followed this explanation.

Dr. Isaac Taylor states in his 'Alphabet,' Vol. II, p. 349.

'The meaning of the term *Nāgarī* has been much disputed. It has been conjectured that it was originally the local alphabet of Benares and has been explained as the city-alphabet from *nagara*, a city. Dr. Burnell is inclined to believe that it was *Naga-lipi* or serpent-writing. (Burnell, *S. Indian Pal.*, p. 52). It was thus understood and translated at the time when the ancient Tibetan version of the *Lalita Vistara* was made. A third hypothesis explains it as the writing of the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇs* of Gujrāt, and a fourth as that of the *Shāh* kings, who were called the *nāgas* or snakes.'

He also adds—'The term *Dēva-nāgarī*, which would mean the divine or sacred *nāgarī* is not used by the natives of India, and seems to have been invented by some ingenious Anglo-Indian about the end of the last century. It has, however, established itself in works on Indian Palæography, and may be conveniently retained to denote that particular type of the *Nāgarī* character employed in printed books for the sacred Sanskrit literature, while the generic term *Nāgarī* may serve as the designation of the whole class of Vernacular alphabets of which the *Dēva-nāgarī* is the literary type'. (p. 349).

From the facts and materials, I have been able to collect, I arrive at the conclusion, that this alphabet was first devised by a class of men, designated *Nāgara*, and in a certain place also called *Nagara*: and this is why the characters go under the name of *Nāgarākṣara* or *Nāgarī-lipi*.

About 750 years ago Paṇḍita Ṣeṣa Kṛṣṇa¹ thus gives an account of different languages in his *Prākṛta-candrikā* : —

महाराष्ट्री तथावन्ती शौरसेन्यर्धमागधी ।

वाह्लीकी मागधी चैव षडेता दाक्षिणात्यजाः ॥ ²

ब्राचण्डो लाटवैदर्भावुपनागरनागरी ।

वार्वरावन्य-पाञ्चाल-टाक्क-मालव-कैकयाः ॥

गौडोद्ग-दैव-पाश्चात्य-प्राग्य-कौन्तल-सैहलाः ।

कालिङ्ग-प्राच्य-काण्ट-काञ्चन-द्राविड-गौर्जराः ॥

आभीरो मध्यदेशीयः सूक्ष्मभेदव्यवस्थिताः ॥

सप्तविंशत्यपभ्रंशा वैडालादिप्रभेदतः ॥

‘Mahārāṣṭrī, Avantī, Çaurasēni, Ardha-māgadhi, Vāhliki, Māga-dhī; these six are original (Prākṛt) languages and they originated from Southern India. Brācaṇḍa, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Āvantya, Pāñcāla, Ṭakka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Uḍra, Daiva, Pāṇcātya, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Saimhala, Kālinga, Prācyā, Kār-ṇāṭa, Kāñcya, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Ābhīra, Madhya-dēçiya, Vaidāla: these 27 are corrupt dialects and differ more or less from one another.’

It is clear from the above ṣlokas that like the Mahārāṣṭrī, Çaurasēni, Māgadhi, &c., which derived their names from the provinces or their people, the corrupt forms of languages, viz., Nāgara, Upanāgara and Daiva, were current in some part of the country whose name they bear.

The next point to consider is, from what place did the name become current?

In India we find more than one tract of land having the name Nagara. In Bengal we find Nagara which was formerly the capital of Bīrbhūm. The famous port Nagara is in Tanjore. In Mysore an extensive division goes by that name; in this division there are a certain village and a *taluk* of the name of Nagara. A remarkable town named Nagara, and an ancient town called Nagarakōṭa are situated on the Bīas in the district of Kangra, Panjāb. Over and above, we find Nagaravasti in Darbhanga, Nagaraparkar (town) in Sindh, and Nagara-

¹ Also known under the name of Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, son of Nara-simha, sprung in the Ṣeṣa-vaṃṣa. According to Dr. Bhāṇḍarkar the probable date of Rāma-candra nephew of Ṣeṣa-Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A.D. (R. G. Bhāṇḍarkar's Report of the Sauskrit MSS. 1883-84, p. 59).

² Another reading ‘अष्टेता दाक्षिणात्यजाः ।’

khās (a city) in the district of Basti. Moreover there is a number of ancient villages called Nagaram found in the Deccan.

We are also in similar difficulty with regard to the name Nāgara. In North-Bengal, there are two rivers of that name :—one running from Purniyā to Dinājpur; another from Bagurā to Rājshāhi. In the district of Dacca there is a village of that name. In Rājputānā proper there are some 9 or 10 places, all bearing the name Nāgara, of which three may be called towns. One of these three is in the state of Jai-pur, another in Mārwar, and the remaining one 10 miles south-west of Ranthambhōr. In the Santal Parganahs, there is a fortified village called Nāgara. Close to Chitor in Rājputānā there is a very ancient town called Nāgarī. By the punch-marked coin, discovered here and its concomitants, Sir Alex. Cunningham has proved conclusively that this town was established many centuries before the birth of Christ. But he says that the ancient name of this locality was Tāmbravati-nagarī.

None of the above-mentioned places affords us any hint by which we may ascertain the mother-country of the Nāgarī-alphabet.

There lives a powerful tribe named Nāgara, in the mountainous tract of Kabul in Afghanistan. Many days have not elapsed since these Nāgaras declared war against the British Government. A friend of mine has jumped to the conclusion, that the Nāgara-alphabet has been named after this tribe. He is of opinion that as the Aryans have gradually entered into India from Central Asia; so the alphabet of this tribe somehow or other found its way into India. I cannot support the theory of my friend. These Nāgara-men, although they belong at present to the religion of Islām, are all descended from the Rajputs; and they point to Rājputānā, as their former residence. Under such circumstances how can it be imagined that the Nāgarākṣara was imported into India from the North of Kabul?

Besides the above, there is another Nagara, an extensive division in the district of Aḥmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency. The area of the tract is 619 sq. miles.¹ Here there is a class of Brāhmaṇas styled Nāgara. Aḥmadnagar is also called Nagara, but only by the natives of that place. They say that the tract was well-known as Nagar long before the establishment of the present town in 1411 A.D. by Sulṭān Aḥmad. These Nāgara Brāhmaṇas generally look upon the Nāgara-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa as the authority regarding their origin. It is stated in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that Nagara is another name for Hāṭakēṣvara on the Sarasvatī. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the Nagara division assert that the Hāṭakēṣvara of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa is no other than the ancient

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VII p. 608.

Hātakēṣvara temple in Ḫriguṇḍī on the river Sarasvatī in that division.¹ Nagara or Aḥmadnagar was within the boundary of the Hātakēṣvara-kṣētra. Most of the sacred places of pilgrimage (तौथे) mentioned in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, were in this Nagara division. Of these nearly all have been ravaged by the Muḥammadan invaders. Siddhēṣvara, Nāganātha, Hātakēṣvara and a few others are the only surviving shrines.

If we rely upon the veracity of these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, we must conclude that this spot is the ancient Nagara, as related in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa. But though the Pāṇḍās of the Hātakēṣvara of Ḫriguṇḍī may endeavour to give fame to the spot by identifying it with that of Nāgara-khaṇḍa, it is certainly not the ancient Hātakēṣvara mentioned in that work. The shrine of this Hātakēṣvara was erected long after the establishment of the ancient Hātakēṣvara.

It is related in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa by name Campa-ṇarman, was excommunicated for accepting the gift of an individual named Puṣpa. He, being renounced by his kith and kin, quitted the city and began to dwell in a certain place on the right bank of the Sarasvatī. His descendants became known under the title of *Vāhya-nāgara*. These Vāhya-nāgaras in imitation of the ancient Hātakēṣvara as described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, planted the present Hātakēṣvara on the right bank of the river Sarasvatī at Ḫriguṇḍī. According to the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Nagara is on the north side of the Sarasvatī and is within the boundaries of Hātakēṣvara which extend 5 krōṣas or 10 miles. But our present Aḥmadnagar is more than 10 miles from Ḫriguṇḍī: moreover, the river Sarasvatī does not flow close to it. These facts prevent me from taking Aḥmadnagar as the early dwelling-place of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. Nor do we find any tradition to the effect that Nāgarī-alphabet sprang from that place.

Origin of the Nāgaras.

I learn from a note received from a friend that the Nāgara Paṇḍits of Gujarāt maintain that the Nāgarī-alphabet was originally invented by their ancestors. Many Nāgara Brāhmaṇas still live in Gujarāt. They consider themselves superior to all other Brāhmaṇas.² The Hindū

¹ List of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, by J. Burgess, p. 107.

² The Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas still recite the following Ḫlōka to ascertain their superiority over all other Brāhmaṇas:—

श्रेष्ठा गावः पशूनां च यथा पद्मसमुद्भव ।

विप्राणामिह सर्वेषां तथा श्रेष्ठा हि नागराः ॥

(नागरखण्ड १६९ । १५)

kings of Gujārāt have shown their reverence towards these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas from very ancient times. One cannot fail to notice the hereditary employments of these Brāhmaṇas as ministers, counsellors, &c., at the highest and most important functionaries of the state. These Brāhmaṇas also allude to the authority of the Skanda-purāṇa for their origin. The Nāgara-khaṇḍa thus speaks of the origin of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas :—

Camatkāra, the king of Ānartta, was once afflicted with leprosy. Being unable to get rid of the malady, he despaired of his life. One day he came to the hermitage of Viṣvāmitra and stated his misfortune. The ascetics of the hermitage were moved to pity by the lamentations of the king and advised him to bathe in the Ṣaṅkha-tīrtha. Bathing there he recovered from leprosy. Then he built close to that Ṣaṅkha-tīrtha a city named Camatkāra-pura, which extended for two miles. Picturesque structures were there raised by his orders; and Kulina Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vēdas, and other religious Brāhmaṇas were invited from distant quarters to inhabit the town. A few years after, there was born amongst them the learned Citra-ṣarman. Practising penance he was able to propitiate Mahādēva, who to accomplish his desire appeared in the form of Hātakēṣvara. People from different parts took to frequenting the place to have a sight of the Hātakēṣvara-līṅga. The Brāhmaṇas of Camatkāra-pura began to consider that, intrinsically Citra-ṣarman was in no way superior to them; but as he had earned honour and respect of the public by instituting a permanent object of glory, why should not they? Reflecting thus, they all fell to practising austere penance. Mahādēva became propitiated and appeared before the Camatkāra-pura Brāhmaṇas, who were then divided into 68 *gōtras*. Mahādēva said, 'There are in all 68 Ṣaiva-kṣētras (places of Ṣiva). Dividing myself into 68 parts I always reside in these places. Now to satisfy your object I will appear here in 68 forms.' Accordingly there were erected 68 shrines, and each *gōtra* devoted itself to the worship of a separate form of Ṣiva. (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, chs. 106 and 107.)

Once upon a time the king of Ānartta became aware that a heavy calamity was brooding over his peaceful dominions owing to the wrath of the presiding planet of his son then about to be born. He called for all the great astrologers of the age, who all concurrently advised him to observe expiatory rites through the medium of competent Brāhmaṇas. The king of Ānartta had already established the Brāhmaṇas of the 68 *gōtras* in Camatkāra-pura, where he also had beautiful edifices built for them. Now, instructed by the astrologers, he came in person to Camatkāra-pura, and solicited the Brāhmaṇas to perform the

necessary religious rites for the welfare of his future son. Sixteen Brāhmaṇas were then employed to perform propitiatory and sacrificial observances.

While these religious rites were being performed there went on, in the capital of Ānartta, great and solemn festivities in order to celebrate the birth of the prince. But in the midst of these entertainments dark calamities began to make their appearance. Consequent upon the evil influence of the star presiding over the prince's fortune, the king's horses, elephants, chariots and even his dominions began to grow thinner and thinner. At this the Brāhmaṇas of Camatkāra-pura became highly exasperated. They observed, 'We sixteen Brāhmaṇas are without the slightest departure from rules, performing the due sacrifices; and yet no good comes of it: let us therefore imprecate curses upon the god of fire.' At this juncture, Agni-dēva (the Fire-god) appeared before them and exclaimed: 'Oh Brāhmaṇas, do not imprecate curses upon me under the influence of unjust wrath. Each of your offerings is going to ruin through the misdemeanour of Trijāta, one among you who are performing the sacrifices and other religious rites. For him, the sun and the other heavenly bodies do not accept your offerings: and this is why pestilence and mortality are day by day increasing in the kingdom. Renew your sacrifice, banishing this vile Brāhmaṇa from your company: then fortune and health shall smile upon the king, and perdition shall await his enemies.' Hearing the words of Agni, the Brāhmaṇas were very much ashamed, and said that it was impossible for them to believe that Trijāta was polluting their *Hōma* preparations. Agni replied, 'Purify yourselves by bathing in the water of my perspiration in the sacrificial-pit (*Hōma-kunḍa*). Rest assured, that your preparations have been corrupted by that man, on whose body appear pustules when he emerges out of the water.' In obedience to the dictates of Agni, they, one after another, bathed in the sacrificial-pit: but pustules were seen on the person of Trijāta only. Overwhelmed with shame, Trijāta was then unable to uplift his down-cast head; agony and repentance overcame him and he determined to retire to the jungle. Now in fact this Trijāta was a great scholar, well versed in the Vēdas; and for the disgrace incurred upon him, his mother was to be blamed. Becoming alive to his own wretched condition he applied himself to practise austere penance in a secluded forest.

Highly delighted with the rigour and austerity of Trijāta's penance, Mahādēva appeared before him. Trijāta fell prostrate at his feet and thus outpoured his heart:—'Oh God of the gods, I have been, by my mother's fault, very much disgraced before the people of Camatkāra-pura and the king of Ānartta. Be thou so gracious to contrive

some means, by which I may rise pre-eminent amongst all the Brāhmaṇas.' Māhadēva answered, 'Wait for some time. Days are not distant, when your desire will be fulfilled.' Saying this the god vanished.

Meanwhile a great disaster occurred in Camatkāra-pura. On one *Nāga-pañcamī* day, Kratha, son of Dēva-rāja of the Maudgalya gōtra, went together with some other Brāhmaṇas to bathe in the Nāgatīrtha and there taking Rudra-māla the son of the serpent-king, for a common water-serpent, killed him with the stroke of a rod. At this many venomous snakes, responding to their king's order, crept into Camatkāra-pura in overwhelming numbers. Owing to the terrible destruction caused by these poisonous snakes, all the men of Camatkāra-pura young and old, began to flee away, leaving their houses and articles behind them. Brāhmaṇas in hundreds breathed their last, being bitten by snakes. Some Brāhmaṇas becoming exceedingly appalled sought refuge in that forest where Trijāta was engaged in penance. Hearing of the story of their misfortune, Trijāta encouraged them, saying, 'you have no occasion to fear.' Ere long he again became absorbed in meditation of Māhadēva. The god appeared and said, 'I am giving you an incantation (a mantra) the mere utterance of which shall render even the most ferocious of the venomous snakes void of poison.' The *mantra* runs thus:—

गरं विषमिति प्रोक्तं न तत्रास्ति च साम्प्रतम् ।

मत्प्रसादात्त्वया ह्येतदुच्चार्य ब्राह्मणोत्तमम् ॥

नगरं नगरं चैतच्छ्रुत्वा ये पन्नगाधमाः ।

तत्र स्थास्यन्ति ते वध्या भविष्यन्ति यथा सुखम् ॥

अद्य प्रभृति तत्स्थानं नगराख्यं धरातले ।

भविष्यति सुविख्यातं तव कीर्तिविवर्धनम् ॥

तथान्योऽपि च यो विप्रो नागरः शुद्धवंशजः ।

नगराख्येन मन्त्रेण अभिमन्त्र्य त्रिधा जलम् ॥

प्राणिनं कालसंदष्टमपि मृत्युवशंगतम् ।

प्रकरिष्यति जीवन्तं प्रक्षिप्य वदने स्वयम् ॥

(नागरखण्ड १०७। ७८—८२)

'O my good Brāhmaṇa, you are to proclaim in the city that the word *gara* signifies poison, but by my favour there is no poison at present. Any vile snakes that may dare to remain there after hearing you utter '*na garam na garam*' (i.e., there is no poison, no poison), may

be killed at your pleasure. This famous place, which contributes to your glory, will from this day be known to the world by the name of *Nagara*. So also any other *Nāgara Brāhmaṇa*, born of a pure family, will be able to restore to life any snake-bitten animal fallen into the clutches of death by besprinkling its face with water, enchanted thrice with the *mantra* called *Nagara*.'

Saying this the god disappeared. *Trijāta* accompanied by those *Brāhmaṇas* came to *Camatkāra-pura*. They all conjointly began to cry aloud *nagaram, nagaram*. By the effect of this *Siddha-mantra*, the snakes of *Camatkāra-pura* were rendered poisonless, and struggled to make their escape, while thousands perished. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune! That very *Trijāta*, who was once overwhelmed by acute mortification of mind, and shame and disgrace, now overflowed with joy to find himself the object of public praise and honour. By his influence the name of *Camatkāra-pura* was changed to *Nagara*, and its *Brāhmaṇas* came to be known as *Nāgara*. (*Nāgara-khaṇḍa* chs. 106-108).

Thus, on the authority of the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa* the former name of *Nagara* was *Camatkāra-pura* after the name of its founder *Camatkāra* king of *Ānartta*. *Hātakēṣvara* is another name of this place. According to the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, *Hātakēṣvara-kṣētra* is situated at the south-west of *Ānartta-dēṣa*, and its boundary stretches 10 miles in circumference, while the town itself extended for 2 miles.¹ It is bounded on the east by *Gayā-ṣiṛṣa*, on the west by *Viṣṇu-pada*, and on the north and south by *Gōkarṇēṣvara*.² Within the boundaries of this *Hāta-*

¹ अस्मिन्नैतदिग्रागे देशे चानर्तसंज्ञके ॥
तत्राय स्यापितं लिङ्गं हाटकेन सुरीक्षितैः ।
एतत्संकौच्यै लोके पाताले हाटकेश्वरम् ॥
(नागरखण्ड ४। ५१ -- ५२)

नगरं कल्पयामास स्थाने तत्र महत्तमम् ।
प्राकारेण सुतुङ्गेन परिखार्धेन सर्वतः ।
आयाम-व्यासतश्चैव क्रोशमात्रं मनोहरम् ॥
(नागरखण्ड ११। ६३ -- ६४)

² पञ्चक्रोशप्रमाणेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणसत्तमाः ।
आयामव्यासतश्चैव चमत्कारपुरोद्भवम् ॥
प्राच्यां तस्य गयाशीर्षं पश्चिमेन हरेः पदम् ।
दक्षिणीत्तरयोश्चैव गोकर्णेश्वरसंज्ञितौ ।
हाटकेश्वरसंज्ञस्तु पूर्वमासौद्विज्जीतमः ।
तत्क्षेत्रं प्रथितं लोके सर्वपातकनाशनम् ॥
यतः प्रभृति विप्रेभ्यो दत्तं तेन महात्माना ।
चमत्कारेण तत्स्थानं नाम्ना ख्यातिं ततो गतम् ॥
(नागरखण्ड १६। ३ -- ६)

kēçvara-kṣētra are the shrines of Acalēçvara, Gōkarṇēçvara, Gayā-çirṣa, Mārkaṇḍēyēçvara, Citrēçvara, Dhundhumārēçvara, Yayātiçvara, Ānandēçvara, Kapilēçvara, Kalanēçvara, Ānarttēçvara, Çūdrakēçvara, Ajapālīçvara, Bāṇēçvara, Lakṣmaṇēçvara, Trijātēçvara, Ambārēvatī, Kēdārēçvara, Vṛṣabhanātha, Satyasandhēçvara, Aṭēçvara, Dharma-rājēçvara, Miṣṭānnadēçvara, Citrāṅgadēçvara, Amarakēçvara, Vaṭēçvara, Makarēçvara, Kālēçvara, Puṣpāditya, &c., as well as hundreds of sacred places (tīrthas), named Pātāla-Gaṅgā, Gaṅgā-Yamunā, Prācī (*i.e.*, eastern) Sarasvatī, Nāga-tīrtha, Çaṅkha-tīrtha, Mṛga-tīrtha, Linga-bhēdōdbhava-tīrtha, Rudrā-varṭta, Rāma-hrada, Çakra-tīrtha, Mātṛ-tīrtha, Mudhāra-tīrtha, &c.

Elsewhere in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa Mahādēva says :—‘Naimiṣāraṇya, Kēdāra-nātha, Puṣkara, Bhūmi-jāṅgala, Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣētra, Prabhāsa, and Hātakēçvara are the principal of the sacred-places. He who in proper veneration bathes in these eight *Tīrthas*, reaps the fruit of bathing in all the *Tīrthas*. Even these eight sacred places have their best, and Hātakēçvara is that one. All the *tīrthas* in the world are, by my order, present in Hātakēçvara. Therefore in the Kali-yuga persons eager of salvation should betake themselves to the Hātakēçvara-kṣētra, which is attended by all the *Tīrthas*.’ (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, ch. 103.)

Mr. Wilson in his *Indian castes* says :—‘The word Nāgara is the adjective form of Nagara, a city. It is applied to several (six) principal castes of Brāhmaṇas in Gujarāt getting their designations respectively from certain towns in the north-eastern portions of that province.’¹

It has been already remarked in harmony with the statement of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, that Hātakēçvara was named Nagara, subsequent to Trijāta’s making the land snakeless. The Brāhmaṇas who were brought by him became known under the name of Nāgara from their inhabiting that city.²

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt maintain that Ānandapura (the present Baḍanagara) was their original dwelling-place. This place is in the district of Kaḍi in Gujarāt, and forms a part of the state of the Gāikwār of Baroda. Some antiquarians have alluded to Nagara-Ānanda-pura as the name of this place.³ It seems to me that perhaps the Nāgara Brahmanas of Ānanda-pura used the name of Baḍa-nagara

¹ Wilson, *Indian Castes*, Vol. II., p. 96.

² It is stated in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, that Hātakēçvara was, previous to the arrival of Trijāta, depopulated by the horrible destruction spread over the land by the poisonous snakes. Trijāta again populated it by Brāhmaṇas of 84 *gōtras* brought from several other places. (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, ch. 108.)

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. 295.

for their native town, in order to distinguish it from the comparatively new city, Nagara, which the excommunicated Vāhya-nāgaras founded and named in imitation of their mother-land.¹

The famous shrine of Hātakēçvara is still existing in Baḍa-nagara; and the Brāhmaṇas of this locality still recite holy-texts (Çānti-pāṭha) for the welfare of their king the Gāikwār. Even now, thousands of pilgrims resort to Hātakēçvara from all parts of Western India. But strangely enough, most of the inhabitants of Bengal have not even heard its name.

The above-mentioned temples and *tīrthas* as described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa can even now be identified in Baḍa-nagara and its environments of 10 miles. The local river Sarasvatī is held, by the natives, in the same veneration as the Ganges.

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas maintain that there was a time, when millions of pilgrims annually came to Hātakēçvara-kṣētra from different parts of India. The attendants of its Pāṇḍās travelled all over India inducing people to visit this sacred place. Indeed many Nāgara Brāhmaṇas are, even now, met with in various parts of the Deccan. These Brāhmaṇas still write all their sacred books in the Nāgarī characters. Even far away in Drāviḍa and Karnāṭa, where all the other natives use their provincial alphabets in writing, these Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, though they have, in the course of centuries, lost their mother-tongue and adopted that of the surrounding people amongst whom they live, still adhere to their own tribal Nāgarī character.

With respect to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas at the outskirts of Vijaya-nagara and Ānaguṇḍi, Mr. Huddleston Stokes states :—‘They appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nāgara, and to have settled here under the Ānaguṇḍi and Vijayanagar kings. They speak Kānarese only, but their books are in the Nāgarī and Bālabōdha² character.’³

A careful perusal of what has been recorded above, leads one to decide that the Brāhmaṇas brought by Trijāta came to be known by the name of Nāgara, their language and their alphabet by the name of Nāgara or Nāgarī from their residing in the city of Nagara. That they have a peculiar connection with the Nāgarākṣara is well

¹ We see in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that the excommunicated Campa-çarman and his companion set up the images of Nagarēçvara and Nagarāditya on the right-bank of the river Sarasvatī (*Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, ch. 155). So it is not improbable that the Vāhya-nāgaras established here a town named Nagara.

² Bālabōdha is a modern form of the Nāgarī. (See Burnell, *S. I. Palæography*, p. 44.)

³ *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 230.

exemplified by the alphabet, made use of by other Nāgara Brāhmaṇas long inhabiting different countries.

Origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet.

Most of our Indian Paṇḍits hold that the origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet dates from the invention of the system of writing. Paṇḍita Gaurī-çaṅkara Hirācānd of Udayapura, author of the Prācina-lipi-mālā, also asserts the same theory. But in my humble opinion, this theory is quite without any foundation.

The books which describe all the earliest *lipis* of India do not speak anything at all of Nāgarī. In support of this, I quote here some proofs.

In the early Buddhist work named the *Laṭita-vistara*, it is stated that when Viçvāmitra Dārakācārya came to teach Siddhārtha the art of writing, the prince previous to his inculcation, spoke of the following 64 kinds of *lipis*¹:—1 *Brāhmī*, 2 *Kharoṣṭī*, 3 *Puṣkarasārī*, 4 *Aṅga*, 5 *Vaṅga*, 6 *Magadha*, 7 *Māṅgalya*, 8 *Manuṣya*, 9 *Aṅguliya*, 10 *Çakārī*, 11 *Brahma-vallī*, 12 *Drāviḍa*, 13 *Kinārī*, 14 *Dakṣiṇa*, 15 *Ugra*, 16 *Śaṅkhyā*, 17 *Anulōma*, 18 *Darada*, 19 *Khāsiya*, 20 *Çīna*, 21 *Hūṇa*, 22 *Madhyākṣara-vistara*, 23 *Puṣpa*, 24 *Dēva*, 25 *Nāga*, 26 *Yakṣa*, 27 *Gandharva*, 28 *Kinnara*, 29 *Maḥōraga*, 30 *Asura*, 31 *Garuḍa*, 32 *Mṛga-cakra*, 33 *Cakra*, 34 *Vāyumarut*, 35 *Bhauma-dēva*, 36 *Antarikṣa-dēva*, 37 *Uttarakuru-dvīpa*, 38 *Āpara-gauḍa*, 39 *Pūrva-vidēha*, 40 *Utkṣēpa*, 41 *Nikṣēpa*, 42 *Vikṣēpa*, 43 *Prakṣēpa*, 44 *Sāgara*, 45 *Vajra*, 46 *Lēkha-pratīlēkha*, 47 *Anudruta*, 48 *Çastrāvarta*, 49 *Gaṇanā-vartta*, 50 *Utkṣepā-vartta*, 51 *Nikṣepāvartta*, 52 *Padalikhita*, 53 *Dviruttarapadasandhi*, 54 *Daṣōttarapadasandhi*, 55 *Adhyāhārīṇī*, 56 *Sarvaruta-saṅgrahaṇī*, 57 *Vidyānulōmā*, 58 *Vimīçrita*, 59 *Rṣitapastaptā*, 60 *Rōcamānā*, 61 *Dharāṇī-prēkṣaṇa*, 62 *Sarvaṣadhi-niṣyandā*, 63 *Sarvasāra-saṅgrahaṇī*, and 64 *Sarvabhūta-ruta-grahaṇī*.¹

1 अथ वोधिस्सत्त उरगसारचन्दनमयं लिपिफलकमादाय दिव्यवर्णकं सुवर्णैतिलकं समन्तान्निर्णयितव्यं विश्वामित्रमाचार्यमेवाह । कतमां भो उपाध्याय लिपिं मे शिष्ययिष्यसि । ब्राह्मीं खरोष्ट्रीं पुष्करसारीं अङ्ग-लिपिं वङ्ग-लिपिं मगध-लिपिं माङ्गल्य-लिपिं मनुष्य-लिपिं अङ्गुलीय-लिपिं शकारि-लिपिं ब्रह्मवल्ली-लिपिं द्राविड-लिपिं किनारि-लिपिं दक्षिण-लिपिं उग्र-लिपिं संख्या-लिपिं अनुलोम-लिपिं अर्धधनुर्लिपिं दरद-लिपिं खास्य-लिपिं चीन-लिपिं कृष्ण-लिपिं मध्याक्षर-विस्तर-लिपिं पुष्प-लिपिं देव-लिपिं नाग-लिपिं यक्ष-लिपिं गन्धर्व-लिपिं किन्नर-लिपिं महोरग-लिपिं अमुर-लिपिं गरुड-लिपिं मृगचक्र-लिपिं चक्र-लिपिं वायु-मरुलिपिं भौमदेव-लिपिं अन्नरीचदेव-लिपिसुत्तरकुण्डलोप-लिपिं अपरगौड़ादि-लिपिं पूर्व-विदेहलिपिसुत्तेप-लिपिं निक्षेप-लिपिं विक्षेप-लिपिं प्रक्षेप-लिपिं सागर-लिपिं वज्र-लिपिं

We learn from the 4th *angga* called the *Samavāya*, one of the earliest Jaina works that the character which originated from Brāhmī, daughter of Ādijina Rṣabhadēva, is called Brāhmī. The following are the names of 18 sorts of writing headed by Brāhmī:—1 *Bambhī*, 2 *Javanāliya*, 3 *Dōṣa-ūriyā*, 4 *Kharoṭṭhiyā*, 5 *Kharasāriyā*, 6 *Pahārāiyā*, 7 *Uccattāriyā*, 8 *Akkharaputthiyā*, 9 *Bhōgabayattā*, 10 *Beyanatiyā*, 11 *Nirāhaiyā*, 12 *Aṅka*, 13 *Gaṇiya*, 14 *Gandhavva*, 15 *Ādassa*, 16 *Māhēsara*, 17 *Dāmi* and 18 *Bōlidi-livi*.¹

The fourth *Upāṅga*, the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* of the Jainas gives the following list of 18 sorts of characters:—1 *Bambhī*, 2 *Jabaṇāliya*, 3 *Dāsapūriyā*, 4 *Kharoṭṭhī*, 5 *Pukkkharasāriyā*, 6 *Bhōgavaiyā*, 7 *Pahārāiyā*, 8 *Antarakariyā*, 9 *Akkharaputthiyā*, 10 *Veṇaniyā*, 11 *Nināhaiyā*, 12 *Aṅka*, 13 *Gaṇita*, 14 *Gandhavva*, 15 *Āyassa*, 16 *Māhēsari*, 17 *Dāmili* and 18 *Pōlindā*.²

Some may advance the argument that amongst the *lipis* (characters) mentioned above, there is the mention of *Dēvalipi*, *Bhauma-dēvalipi* and *Antarikṣadēvalipi*; and one of these might be our *Dēva-nāgara*, and most probably *Dēva-lipi* or *Bhauma-dēva-lipi* has changed its name for our present *Dēva-nāgara* or *Nāgara*. But I think that it is wide of the mark to infer that the *Nāgarī-lipi* is derived from *Dēva-lipi*, in so much as there is no clear mention of *Nāgara* or *Nāgarī*.

लेखप्रतिलेख-लिपिमनुद्रुत-लिपिं शास्त्रावर्त-लिपिं गणनावर्त-लिपिसुत्तेपावर्त-लिपिं निचे-
पावर्त-लिपिं पादलिखित-लिपिं द्विरुत्तरपदसन्धि-लिपिं यावद्दशोत्तरपदसन्धि-लिपिमध्या-
हारिणि-लिपिं सर्वरुतसंग्रहणी-लिपिं विद्यानुलोमा-लिपिं विमिश्रित-लिपिष्वपिपसप्तप्रां
रोचमानम्बरणी-प्रेक्षण-लिपिं सर्वौषधिनिघ्नन्दां सर्वसारसंग्रहणीं सर्वभूतरुत ग्रहणीमासाभो
उपाध्याय चतुःषष्ठिलिपीनां कतमां-लिपिं मां त्वं शिञ्चयिष्यसि । (ललित. विस्तर १० अ.)

¹ वन्धो एणं लिवौ अठारस-विह लेखकविद्वाने । वन्धो जवणालिया दोसजरिया
खरोट्टिया खरसारिया पदाराइया उच्चतरिया अख्करपुत्थिया भोगवयत्ता वेणणतिया निरा-
हइया अंकलिवि गणिलिवि गन्धलिवि आदस्सलिवि माहेसरलिवि दामिलिवि बोलिदि-
लिवि ।
(समवाय १८ श खान)

The Jainas say that all their *Angas* were written in the time of Mahavīra, and after 164 years from his death (*i.e.*, in 363 B.C.), were collected in the *Ḍṛisaṅgha* of Pāṭaliputra.

² वन्धो एनस्स लिवौ अठारसविह-लिक्ख-विद्वाने पणत्ते नाम् वन्धो जवणालिया
दासपरिया खरोट्टी पुक्खरसारिया भोगवइया पदाराइया उपअन्नरकरिया अक्खर-
पुत्थिया वेणणिया निणहइया अङ्कलिवि गणितलिवि गन्धलिवि आयस्सलिवि माहेसरी
दामिली पोलिन्दा सेत्तं भाषारिइ । (पद्मवणा) ।

The commentator Malayagiri writes — ब्राह्मीयवनानीत्यादयो लिपिभेदास्तु सम्प्रदा-
याद्वयेयः ।

It has been stated about the commencement of this paper that Çeṣa-kṛṣṇa, the writer of the Prākṛta-candrikā, has mentioned Nāgara, Upanāgara, and Daiva among the 27 forms of corrupt languages.¹ Most probably like these three languages three different forms of writing were also current. The Daiva or Bhauma-dēva-lipi mentioned in the *Lalita-vistara* had probably some points of resemblance to the Daiva-lipi or writing of the Dēva-bhāṣā.

But I have not come across any proof to lead me to surmise that Dēva-lipi signifies Nāgarākṣara. Now in some countries Nāgara may mean Dēvanāgarākṣara, but Dēvākṣara has nowhere any such import. In Bengal it is humorously used to denote very bad and illegible writing. Under such circumstances I cannot take Dēvalipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi as representing our present Nāgarī character.

It is now admitted that the *Lalita-vistara* was composed in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. The fourth Upāṅga Prajñapanāsūtra was written by Çyāmārya, the first Kālakācārya. On referring to the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali*, we find that Çyāmārya lived 376 years after Mahāvira's *nīrvāṇa* (B.C. 151). Consequently it must be admitted that nearly 2000 years ago there was no *lipi* extant under the name of Nāgara or Nāgarī.

Then when did the name of Nāgara first make its appearance ?

We find the first mention of Nāgarī-lipi in a Jaina religious book, the Nandi-sūtra.² Jainācārya Lakṣmi-vallabha-gaṇi thus speaks in his Kalpasūtra-kalpadruma-kalikā :—

अथ श्री ऋषभदेवेन ब्राह्मीदक्षिणहस्तेन अष्टादशल्लिपयो दर्शिताः ।
नन्दीसूत्रे उक्ता यथा - १ हंसलिपि २ भूतलिपि ३ यक्षलिपि ४ रा-
क्षसलिपि ५ उड्डुलिपि ६ यावनलिपि ७ तुरक्कीलिपि ८ कौरीलिपि
९ द्राविडलिपि १० सैन्धवलिपि ११ मालवलिपि १२ नडलिपि
१३ नागरीलिपि १४ पारसीलिपि १५ लाटीलिपि १६ अनिमित्त-
लिपि १७ चाणक्यलिपि १८ मौलदेवी ।

The author then relates :— देशविशेषादन्या अपि लिपयस्तद्यथा —

१ लाटी २ चौडी ३ डाहली ४ कणाडी ५ गूजरी ६ सोरठी ७ मरहठी
८ कौङ्कणी ९ खुरासाणी १० मागधी ११ सिंहली १२ हाडी १३
कौरी १४ हम्मीरी १५ परतीरी १६ मसी १७ मालवी १८ महायोधी

¹ Even the names of these three corrupt forms of languages have not been found in works earlier than Çeṣa Kṛṣṇa's.

² The South-Indian form of the Nāgarī character usually goes by the name of Nandi-nāgarī.

इत्यादयो लिपयः पुनरङ्गानां गणितकला दर्शिता वामहस्तेन सुन्दरी
प्रतिलिपि दर्शिता ।

The *lipis* mentioned in the Nandī-sūtra are the following :—
1 *Haṁsa-lipi*, 2 *Bhūta-lipi*, 3 *Yakṣa-lipi*, 4 *Rākṣasī-lipi*, 5 *Uḍḍī-lipi*, 6
Yāvanī-lipi, 7 *Turakkī-lipi*, 8 *Kīrī-lipi*, 9 *Drāviḍī-lipi*, 10 *Saindhavī-lipi*,
11 *Mālavī-lipi*, 12 *Naḍī-lipi*, 13 *Nāgarī-lipi*, 14 *Pārasī-lipi*, 15 *Lāṭī-lipi*, 16
Animitta-lipi, 17 *Cāṇakī-lipi* and 18 *Mauladēvī*.’

‘(Lipis vary in different countries; the names of them are these) :—
1 *Lāṭī*, 2 *Cauḍī*, 3 *Ḍāhalī*, 4 *Kaṇāḍī*, 5 *Gūjarī*, 6 *Sorathī*, 7 *Murahathī*, 8
Kauykanī, 9 *Khurāsānī*, 10 *Māgadhi*, 11 *Sīṁhalī*, 12 *Hāḍī*, 13 *Kīrī*, 14
Hammīrī, 15 *Paratīrī*, 16 *Masī*, 17 *Mālavī* and 18 *Mahāyōdhi*.’

Jainācārya says that the Nandī-sūtra was issued a few years before the Kalpa-sūtra. The Kalpa-sūtra was published in Ānanda-pura (Baḍanagara) 980 years after the death (nirvāṇa) of Mahāvīra (453 A.D.) under the orders of the Valabhi king Dhruva-sēna. So we find that the first mention of Nāgarī-lipi is in the 4th or 5th century A.D. As there is no mention of Nāgarī-lipi in any book of a date earlier than the 4th century, and as there is no certainty of the time when this *lipi* first came into use, it is necessary to look into all the ancient inscriptions, copper-plates, and manuscripts, engraved or written in the Nāgarī, that have been discovered in different parts of India. It therefore requires much investigation and time to ascertain the gradual development of the Nāgarākṣara. I regret that I have not had enough leisure to devote to this research, but I may mention that I have recently learned that Dr. Bühler is going to publish an elaborate work on the Development of the Nāgarī-alphabet; and hence for detailed information, I can commend my readers to his learned article on that subject.

Of all the Nāgarī copper-plates, inscriptions, and manuscripts that have been discovered up to date, the copper-plate of the Gujara king Dadda-praṇānta-rāga, which has been found in Bagumra and which bears the date of 415 Śaka is the most ancient.¹ The whole of the copper-plate is inscribed in the then-used Gujarātī (cave-character) except towards the close where there is the king’s sign manual in Nāgarī :—

खहस्तोऽयं मम श्रीवितरागसुनो श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य ।

From the fact that only the royal signature is inscribed in the Nāgarākṣara, it is obvious that although other characters were current in Gujarāta about and before that time, the royal personages were then

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII.

accustomed to write in the Nāgarākṣara. Subsequent to the copper-plate of the above-mentioned Dadda, the Nāgarākṣara is again observed in the copper-plate of the Saurāṣṭra king Jāiṅka-dēva, dated 794 Samvat (737 A.D.), which was discovered in the village of Dhiniki on the sea-coast at the south-east of Dvārakāpurī.¹ This copper-plate was granted to one Iṣvara of the Mudgala gōtra by Jāiṅka-dēva, at the request of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa,² the prime-minister. After this the Sāmāna-

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII., p. 155 pl.

² I have something to say about this Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Mr. Umēṣa Candra Baṭabyāla published in the Society's *Journal* a copper-plate of Dharmapāla, together with a facsimile. That plate too was granted to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, agreeably to the request of *Mahā-sāmāntādhipati* Nārāyaṇa Varman. Mr. Baṭabyāl conjectures that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka is no other than the Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanauj, and from whom have descended all the Āṇḍīya-gōtra-Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. He writes:—'Having come into Pauṇḍravardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa found a patron, not in Ādiçūra, as has been hitherto believed, but in one Nārāyaṇa Varman, who in the copper-plate grant is described as the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* of Dharmapāla.' But my surmise is that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka had no connection with that Bhatta Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanauj. The original copper-plate says:—

मनससु भवतां महासामन्ताधिपति-श्रीनारायणवर्मणा दूतकयुवराज-श्रीत्रिसुवन-
पालमुखेन वयमेवं विज्ञापिता यथास्त्राभिर्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये शुभस्थल्यां देवकुलं
कारितं तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितभगवद्भूद*नारायणभट्टारकाय तत्प्रतिपालकलाटद्विजदेवार्चकादि-
पादमूलसमेताय पूजोपस्थानादिकर्मणे चतुरो यामानचत्य हट्टिकातलवाटकसमेतान्
ददातु देव इति ।

'It is manifest from the above text that there was a temple in Çubhasṭhālī, and that Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas were employed to worship the idol. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka came to this country, and subsequently settled there, at the request of the *Mahā-sāmāntādhipati* Nārāyaṇa who granted him four large villages.'

Mr. Baṭabyāla supposes that Lāṭa was probably the name of Kānyakubja. But from the proofs collected by me I am confirmed that Lāṭa was never the name of Kānyakubja. The middle, western, and southern parts of Gujarāṭa were for a long time called Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, and Ānartta respectively. It seems that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who was the prime-minister of Jāiṅka-dēva king of Saurāṣṭra, was an inhabitant of Lāṭa-dēça. It is probable that when a political revolution broke out in his country, he then an old man, travelled over different parts, and then at last came to those Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas in Pauṇḍra-varḍhana. That he who was once, as it were, the right hand of the Saurāṣṭra king secured high respect from the royal officers of Pauṇḍravardhana, is not impossible. Mr. Baṭabyāla writes that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa received a gift worth more than a lac of rupees. (*Journal of A. S. B.*, 1894, Pt. I., p. 44). This great gift proves unquestionably a high respect for Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. It is obvious from the antiquities of India that the title of Bhaṭṭāraka could only be secured by a king or a prince or by a person having similar honour and position. There is no impossibility here that he who once practically ruled Gurjara became famous in Gauḍa under the style of Bhaṭṭāraka. According to the

gaḍa copper-plate grant of Danti-durga Khaḍgāvalōka dated 675 Ḣaka comes to our notice.¹ The arrangement of letters in this plate is very interesting. The letters *i, ē, gh, c, n, dh, n, v* and *jñ* of this plate have the appearance of the ancient Gujarāṭī (cave) character, but all the other letters exhibit a development of the Nāgarākṣara. Indeed the circulation of Nāgarākṣara came to be wider owing to the efforts and exertions of the subsequent Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gujarāt.² The gradual development of the Nāgarākṣara is regularly observed in the following copper-plates :—

Plate.	Names of the donor.	Dates.	Ref.
1	Rāṣṭrakūṭa-king Dhruva II	757 Ḣaka.	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 200.
2	Indra Nitya-varṣa ...	836 „	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.
3	Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa...	855 „	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 280.
4	Kriṣṇa Akāla-varṣa ...	862 „	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.
5	Amōgha-varṣa... ..	894 „	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 266.

The likeness of *t, dh, n, ē* and some other letters of the copper-plate of Dhruva II, although inscribed in the most ancient Nāgarākṣara, can be traced to the Guptākṣara; but clear manifestations of modern Nāgarī are met with in the plates of Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, Indra Nitya-varṣa and Amōgha-varṣa. The vowel-signs of the copper-plate of the

Dhiniki grant, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa was in Gujarāṭa in the year 794 Samvat. Rāja-ḡēkhara's 'Prabandha-cintāmaṇi' says that the Gaṇḍa-king Dharma was continually an implacable enemy of Āmarāja, disciple of Jainācārya Bappa Bhaṭṭa. Bappa Bhaṭṭa's *dikṣā* (initiation) took place in 807 Samvat. About that time or a little after, the Gaṇḍa-king Dharma (pāla) came on the scene. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka in his old age came to Pauṇḍravardhana. Consequently it is proved from the facts of that period, that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came over from Lāṭa-dēḡa and Dharmapāla were contemporaries. We shall see afterwards that from a very early time Gujarāṭa had a connection with Gaṇḍa-dēḡa.

¹ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, p. 371; and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 110.

² Discrepancy arises only in the case of the copper-plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka-suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 734 Ḣaka, which is inscribed in the cave-alphabet of the Deccan. (*Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 153.)

above-mentioned Dadda, Jāṇyka, Dantidurga and Dhruva seem to be derived from the ancient Gupta-lipi and clearly look like the Nāgarākṣara of the earliest stage: but dissimilarity has entered into the plates of Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa and others. The vowel-signs (*e.g.*, τ, τ†, τ‡) as adopted in the plate of Suvarṇa-varṣa and others are similar to those of the Vaṅgiya and the Maithila-lipi. From this it appears that the vowel-signs which are used in the Vaṅgiya and Maithila-lipi are not of recent date, though they have no accordance with those in the Gupta and Nāgarī-lipi, and that they must have existed at least in the 6th or 7th century A.D. Nāgarī-lipi having such vowel-signs is called Jaina-nāgarī in Gujarāt.

The full currency of the Nāgarī-lipi is seen to date from the 9th or 10th century A.D. The forms which this *lipi* came to bear between the 9th or 10th century A.D. are still the same. A very slight difference which may here and there be seen is due to the characteristics of the writer or of the engraver in the different localities.

It is clear from the Jaina-books as well as from the ancient inscriptions stated above, that the Nāgarī-lipi was current during the 5th century A.D. I have said that the Nāgarī-lipi originated from the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Nagara-ānanda-pura. These Nāgara Brāhmaṇas are inhabitants of Gujarāt. The most ancient *Nāgarī-lipi*, discovered up to date, is from Gujarāt; and this fact strongly upholds my theory.

But a question may arise here. Antiquarians have described the innumerable inscriptions between the 3rd and 7th centuries A.D. discovered in Gujarāt, to be written in the cave-characters. Most of the ancient inscriptions and copper-plates, found in various parts of the Deccan, are inscribed in such *cave* characters. Given these facts, what led the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas to adopt a character different from that which was current in their own country? A thorough scrutiny of the cave-characters does not allow us to recognise them to be the origin of Nāgarī-alphabet: on the contrary, the Nāgarī-alphabet must be rather said to descend from the ancient form of Gupta-characters. It seems therefore that the most ancient Nāgarī-lipi used in Gujarāt, was brought over by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, either from Gauḍa, or Magadha or from some other country in Northern India to Gujarāt. The following is related in the Skanda-purāṇa, Nāgara-khaṇḍa ch. 108: the eminent Trijāta who had delivered Camatkāra-pura from the snakes, gave presents of wealth and jewels and established here in Nagara those Brāhmaṇas who had come with their wives and children to Hāta-kēçvara from the furthest and the most remote countries.¹ From this it

¹ विजातस्य च वाक्येन येन दूरादपि द्रुतम् ।

समागच्छन्ति विप्रेन्द्राः पुरटद्विः प्रजायते ॥

is manifest that some Brāhmaṇas came from very distant parts to inhabit Nagara.

I have said already that Ānanda-pura is the ancient name of Nagara or Bāḍanagara. The name 'Ānanda-pura' is only seen in the copper-plates of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The Jaina-Kalpa-sūtra states that in response to the orders of the Valabhi king Dhruva-sēna, the Kalpa-sūtra was read out before the public in the city of Ānanda-pura. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang saw here many Buddhist Saṅghārāmas as well as a good many Hindu temples. The Hindu temples described by the Chinese pilgrim might have been the temples of Hātakēçvara and others which are described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa. Now the question is, although about the 4th or 5th century we find the mention of the Nāgarī-lipi in the Nandi-sūtra, what is the cause of the name Nagara not being mentioned in inscriptions or copper-plates of that time, except in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa? It seems probable that during the rule of the Valabhi kings, none of the royal officers who belonged to different religions or orders, recognised this new name given by the Brāhmaṇas. They all called it Ānanda-pura.¹ Probably the locality came to be denominated Nagara during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Caulukya kings who showed great respect and reverence towards the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.

I have already given the description in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa which says that the Brāhmaṇa Trijāta and his comrades destroyed the race of snakes or drove them away, and thus delivered Hātakeçvara-kṣētra. This I interpret as an allegory. Long before the Valabhi kings, the snake-worshipper Nāga or the Shāh kings had been reigning in Gujarāt. Probably the Çaivas conquered Ānartta after defeating these Nāgas, and founded the Hātakēçvara-kṣētra in order to establish the supremacy of the Çaiva faith. This happened towards the end of the 4th century A.D. Afterwards many Çaiva-Brāhmaṇas gathered there from different countries and assumed the common name of Nāgara. It is probable that some of these immigrants who came from Magadha, Kānyakubja and Gauḍa, brought to their new colony their old alphabet, which in a later period became known as the Nāgarī-lipi. The long residence of these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas in Nagara, is manifest from a work entitled the Sura-

न कश्चिद्याति संसृता दौष्ट्यादन्यत्र च द्विजाः ।

नतस्तेषां सुतैः पौत्रैर्नष्टृभिश्च सदृशशः ॥

नत्पुत्रं वृद्धिमापन्नैर्दृष्टृर्वाङ्गुरैरिव द्विजाः ।

(नागरखण्ड १०८ अः)

¹ In the Nāgara-khaṇḍa there is description of Ānandēçvara Mahādēva: most probably this title of Mahādēva refers to the city of Ānanda-pura.

thōtsava by the famous poet Sōmēçvara the family-priest of the king of Gurjara. It relates :—‘There is a place called Nagara where Brāhmaṇas reside and which is rendered holy by the sacred fires kept by them and the sacrificial rites they perform. The gods themselves seeing the holiness of the place and the prosperity conferred upon it by Çiva live there, as it were, assuming the forms of Brāhmaṇas. At that place dwelt a family of the name of Gulēca of the Vaçiṣṭha gōtra. In that holy family was born Sōla, who was created by Mūlarāja (the founder of the Caulukya Dynasty of Pāṭana) his family-priest.’¹ Sōmēçvara writes afterwards that his ancestors were hereditary priests of the Caulukyās of Gurjara, and that some also became priests of the Rāṣtrakūṭa kings.²

Mūlarāja reigned in the 10th century A.D. The description of Sōmēçvara proves that the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas were inhabiting the land long before the time of Mūlarāja, although the name Nagara came into use in his time.

Many Hindu temples stood here in the time of the Chinese pilgrim, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. According to the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas founded all the temples and shrines of Nagara or Camatkārapura.

I have already alluded to the clear mention of Nāgarī-lipi in the Nandisūtra, which was composed in the 4th or 5th century A.D., and have referred to the sign-manual of the Gurjara king Dadda-praçaṇṭa-rāga of that time for the first introduction of the Nāgarī-lipi. It is singular indeed that most of the ancient copper-plates, inscribed in

- ¹ क्षत्ति प्रश्लाचरणप्रधानं स्थानं द्विजानां नगराभिधानम् ।
 कर्तुं न शक्नोति कदापि यस्य चेतापवित्रस्य कलिः कलङ्कम् ॥
 चक्षुष्यमखाग्नि-भयतमसि स्थाने च नेवानल-
 ज्वालाप्रज्वलित-प्रहून-धनुषा देवेन दत्तोदये ।
 आविर्भूतमभूतपूर्वैश्चरितश्रेष्ठादृशिष्ठात्ततः ।
 सत्कर्मोद्भर-मध्वर-स्थितिर्विदां स्थाने च गोचं महत् ॥
 येषामशेषाधिपतिः प्रसन्नः संनद्धपाणिः फणिकङ्कणेन ।
 त एव संभूतिमिहामुवन्ति कुले गुलेचाभिधया प्रसिद्धे ॥
 श्री सोलशर्मा विमलेकुलेऽत्र जन्म द्विजन्मप्रवरः प्रपदे ।
 यः स्वर्गिनः सोमरसेन यागे पितृंश्च पिण्डैरष्टण्ययागे ।
 श्री गृज्जरक्षितिमुजाकिलमूलराजदेवेन दूरमुपस्थ पुरोदधे यः ॥
 (सुरथोत्सव १५२ सर्ग)

- ² दुष्टारि-कोटि-कदनोत्कट-राष्ट्रकूट-कल्पेन शिल्पितरणाङ्गनकौङ्कणेन ।
 सर्वप्रधानपुरुषाधिपतिः प्रतापमन्त्रेण भूपतिमतस्त्रिकया कृतो यः ॥

Nāgarī and found in Gujarāt, were granted to those Brāhmaṇas who came over to Gujarāt from Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Pauṇḍravardhana, &c. The aforesaid Dadda-praṇānta-rāga's copper-plate of 415 Çaka was given to Bhaṭṭa Gōvinda, son of Bhaṭṭa Mahidhara, an inhabitant of Kānyakubja. Likewise the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nityavarṣa's plate of 836 Çaka, mentions Tēnna, a village of Lāṭa-dēça, being granted to Siddhapa Bhaṭṭa, son of Vēllapa Bhaṭṭa of the Lakṣmaṇa gōtra, who came from Pāṭaliputra. Similarly the copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 854 Çaka, speaks of the gift of the village of Lōha to Kēçava Dikṣita of the Kauçika gōtra, an immigrant from Pauṇḍravardhana. It is quite clear from the proofs given above, that numbers of Brāhmaṇas were from very ancient times immigrating into Gujarāt from Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Pauṇḍravardhana, &c. In this way the ancient form of the Nāgarī-lipi was brought over and circulated in Gujarāt.

Hundreds of panegyrics inscribed in stone in Baḍanagara, the original dwelling-place of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, declare the extraordinary respect and reverence which the Gurjara kings paid towards them. It is owing to the effort of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Caulukya kings of Gurjara, that the Nāgarī-lipi became current in many parts of India. The copper-plate of Karka Suvarṇa-varṣa king of Lāṭa, dated 734 Çaka, clearly states :—

गौडेन्द्र-वङ्गपति-निर्जयदुर्विदग्ध-
सद्गुर्जरेश्वर-दिगर्गलतां च यस्य ।
नीत्वा भुजं विहृतमालवरक्ष्णार्थं
खामी तथान्यामपि राज्यच्छलानि भुङ्क्ते ॥ ¹

Again the following is related in the copper-plate of Akālavarṣa, dated 862 Çaka, about Guṇjarēçvara Kriṣṇarāja, son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatunga, the founder of Mānyakhēṭa :—

तस्यार्जितं गुर्जरोद्धत-हटक्लाटोद्भूत-श्रीमदो
गौडानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुः सामुद्र-निद्राहरः ।
द्वारस्थान्ध्र-कलिङ्ग-गाङ्ग-मगधैरभ्यर्चिताञ्जश्चिरं
सूनुः सून्तवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोऽभवत् ॥ ²

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 160.

² *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII. p. 246.

We come to know from the above extracts that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gurjara conquered Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Gāṅga, Magadha, Mālava, &c., in the 9th and 10th centuries¹ A.D.

So it is beyond doubt, that between the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gujarāt, the characters of their family-priests the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, spread over the whole Āryāvartta under the name of Nāgarī-lipi. Now, the same characters which were once, by the efforts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, circulated all over the Āryāvartta, have now, by the influence of printing and the deep interest taken by western scholars, spread all over the world.

¹ The famous Rāṭhōr kings of Kanauj were of Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin.

The Later Mughals (1707-1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service (Retired)*.

[Read May, 1896.]

The narrative in the following extract,¹ referring to the year 1712, commences on the morning after the death of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāh, which took place in his standing camp a few miles north-east of Lāhōr.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER II.—THE INTERREGNUM.

Section 1. Introductory.

2. 'Aẓimu-sh-shān stands on the defensive.
3. Defeat and death of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān.
4. The Division of the spoil.
5. Death of prince Jahān Shāh.
6. Defeat and death of Rafī'u-sh-shān.

CHAPTER III.—JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

Section 1. New appointments.

Note A, List of Nobles from Valentyn.

2. Executions and imprisonments.
Note B, List of Prisoners from Valentyn.
3. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, sketch of his career.
4. Death of prince Muḥammad Karīm.
5. The Court moves to Dihli—A'zzu-d-dīn despatched to Āgrah.
6. Jahāndār Shāh's life at Dihli.
7. Mḥd. Farrukhsīyar, his early history and arrival at Paṭnah 'Aẓimābād.
8. Account of the Bārhaḥ Sayyads.

¹ This is a continuation of Mr. Irvine's valuable papers on the history of the later Mughal Empire. The last paper was on Guru Gōbind Singh and Bandah, published in Vol LXIII of the *Journal* Part I, for 1894, pp. 112 and ff. The present paper will be issued in instalments. Ed.

9. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān espouses Farrukhshiyar's cause.
10. 'Abdullah Khān gives in his adhesion to Farrukhshiyar.
11. Farrukhshiyar leaves Patnah and reaches Allahābād.
12. Prince A'zzu-d-dīn's advance to Kajwah, his defeat and flight to Agrah.
13. Jahāndār Shāh leaves Dihli for Agrah.
14. Farrukhshiyar arrives at the Jamnah.
15. Sayyad 'Abdullah Khān finds a ford and crosses the Jamnah.
16. Jahāndār Shāh moves from Sāmūgarh.
17. The battle of Agrah, 13th Zū-l-ḥijjah 1124 H. (10th January 1713).
18. Flight of Jahāndār Shāh to Dihli.
19. End of Jahāndār Shāh's reign, Dates of his birth and death, Length of Reign, Coins, Mint Towns, Title after decease, Character, Wives, Children.

List of Authorities.

CHAPTER II.

The Interregnum.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

By Bahādur Shāh's death on the 20th Muḥarram 1124 H. (27th February, 1712) the whole camp was thrown into confusion. The Emperor had barely breathed his last, before his sons were ranged against each other in a contest for empire, an event which was far from unexpected. In order to make the narrative of events quite clear, it is necessary to go back a little and explain the position in which the four brothers stood to each other. 'Azīmu-sh-shān, the second son, had been far away from his father for the last ten years of his grandfather, 'Ālamgīr's, reign. In 1109 H. (1697-8) he was appointed governor of Bengal, to which was added Bahār in the year 1114 H. (1702-3). He did not see his father again until they met at Agrah in 1119 H. (1707) just before the battle at Jājau and the defeat of A'zam Shāh. During these ten or twelve years, Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son, from his inattention to public affairs, lost favour with his father and spent most of his time in his separate government of Multān. In the earlier years of Shāh 'Ālam (Bahādur Shāh's) stay in the Kābul province, his third son, Rafī'u-sh-shān, was his principal adviser and favourite son. In time he was supplanted in this position by the fourth son, Jahān Shāh, who retained his influence at his father's accession and for some time afterwards. The credit of Mun'im Khān's appointment as chief minis-

ter is given to Jahān Shāh. But about the time (December 1709) when the emperor recrossed the Narbadā on his return to Hindūstān, all influence seems to have been absorbed by the second son, 'Aẓimu-sh-shān. Jahān Shāh had several long illnesses (4th–28th December, 1709, 30th July–5th October 1711), and ill-health may have contributed to his gradual exclusion from public affairs. At any rate, 'Aẓimu-sh-shān continued in favour to the end of the reign. The great wealth that he had accumulated, both during his stay in Bengal and after he had obtained the chief direction of affairs, and the preponderating influence that he had exercised for a considerable period, while they raised his brothers envy, pointed him out to all men as the destined victor in the coming struggle.¹

The conduct of the four brothers betokened that they were at enmity; that there could be little hope of a peaceful solution. Their dread of each other was shown in many ways, among others by an incident related by Irādat Khān.² During the emperor's last illness, Jahāndār Shāh and 'Aẓimu-sh-shān were seated near his bed. 'Aẓimu-sh-shān took up a jewelled dagger lying near the pillow and began to toy with it, admiring the exquisite workmanship and the beauty of the blade. As he drew it from the sheath, Jahāndār Shāh, overcome with sudden terror, started up, and in his hurried retreat knocked off his turban at the tent-door, forgot to put on his shoes (a sign of great perturbation),³ and, when he got outside, fell over the tent-ropes. As soon as his servants had picked him up, he mounted and rode off in all haste to his own tents. On a previous occasion a violent outbreak had been expected. On the 24th Rabi' I, 1123 H. (11th May 1711), the day on which the Satlaj was crossed, Jahāndār Shāh and Jahān Shāh went over the bridge of boats first and took up a threatening position upon the further bank. Messengers brought word that those two princes and Rafi'u-sh-shān had made a plot together to attack the treasure carts of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān as they were coming off the bridge. It was only by the exercise of the strongest pressure that the emperor, who was extremely angry, was able to avert an outbreak. Another

¹ Ijād, fol. 32 b; Jonathan Scott, II, part IV, 45.

² J. Scott, 64. It is also in Ijād, fols. 120 b, 121 a, who says it occurred on the day but one before Bahādur Shāh's death.

³ For instance on an occasion of great emergency, one of 'Alī Wirdī Khān's slippers could not be found and he refused to move till it was brought. A bystander said, 'Is this a time to look for slippers?' 'No,' replied the nawab, 'but were I to go without them it would be said, 'Alī Wirdī Khān was in such a hurry to get away that he left his slippers behind him' (Stewart, *Bengal*, 462, note). I heard once a sharp Benares mukhtār apply this taunt most effectively to a bare footed litigant at a local enquiry, to the huge delight of the bystanders.

indication of the same strained relations between the four brothers may, I think, be detected in a sudden attack made upon Jahān Shāh on the 15th Zū-l-ḥijjah 1123 H. (23rd January 1712) near the kettledrum stand, as he was leaving the camp after an audience. A man with a drawn sword rushed at his retinue, wounded a stick-bearer, and was himself cut to pieces.¹

Jahāndār Shāh had no money and therefore no troops: his whole force consisted of seven hundred horsemen. Against 'Azīmu-sh-shān he felt that, under such conditions, it was hopeless to attempt hostilities; and he would have been content with, nay would have thought himself lucky in getting, one city only. He had made up his mind that on his father's death he would make his escape to Multān, where he was well known, and there make ready for an attempt to retrieve his fortunes. All the leading men paid assiduous court to Azīmu-sh-shān. Among the rest Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Amīru-l-umārā, the first *bakhshī*, made an offer of his services through the means of Irādat Khān. One Shekh Quadratullah² wrote a note in reply, of a very curt and unceremonious kind, such as a person of his rank should not have written to a *manṣabdār* of 7,000, saying that all the officers of the State were in attendance at the prince's court, there could be no question of any other place, and the Amīru-l-umārā ought to present himself there, when he would be fittingly received. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, with tears in his eyes, lamented over such mannerless conduct, and quoted the saying 'when Fortune turns against any one, everything conspires against his success.'³ He left the imperial guard-room at once, collected his troops, and moved with all his tents and effects to the camp of prince Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son.⁴

But Zū-l-fiqār Khān had not been so imprudent as to leave his own fate completely in the hands of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. For a long time he had been negotiating with the three princes opposed to 'Azīmu-sh-shān, and had succeeded in bringing them to an agreement. The court chroniclers noticed, as the outward sign of these intrigues, that on the 22th Zū-l-ḥijjah 1123 H. (2nd February, 1712) Rafī'u-sh-shān and on the 1st Muḥarram 1124 H. (8th February, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh visited the quarters of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. As 'Azīmu-sh-shān's power was held to be overwhelming, it was considered wise by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, acting for Jahāndār Shāh, to make overtures for joint action to the two younger

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 70, 100.

² A native of Allāhābād. He was hung by Mīr Jumlah early in Farrukhsīyar's reign.

³ *Cū tirāsh shavvad mard rā rōzgār, Hamah ān kunad kash nayāyad ba kār.*

⁴ Wārīd, 60, 61; Yahyā Khān, 117 b; J. Scott, 65; or text (my copy) 68.

brothers. Accordingly an agreement sworn on the Qur'ān was entered into for the division of the empire into three parts. Jahāndār Shāh, as the eldest son, would be proclaimed Emperor of Hindūstān, the Friday prayer being recited everywhere in his name, and the coinage throughout the country bearing his superscription. Rafi'ū-sh-shān was to take Kābul, Kashmīr, Multān, Taṭṭah and Bhakkar, and Jahān Shāh, the Dakhin from the Narbadā to the island of Ceylon. Any cash or plunder obtained by a victory over 'Aẓimu-sh-shān was to be divided among the three princes equally. The preposterous condition was also included in the agreement that Zū-l-fiqār Khān should be the only *vazīr*, remaining in person with Jahāndār Shāh at Dihli and exercising his functions through deputies at the courts of the other two princes. A more impracticable plan can hardly be conceived, and possibly it was never seriously intended by Zū-l-fiqār Khān that it should be carried out. Up to this time, owing to the notorious poverty of Jahāndār Shāh, adventurers and soldiers had kept aloof from him, but when his cause was espoused by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, they began to flock to his standard.¹

We have already recounted² how prince Rafi'ū-sh-shān passed under arms the greater part of the night of the 18th Muḥarram 1124 H. (25th February 1712). In the morning the prince slept late, and was not yet awake when Kāmwar Khān arrived at his house. Assembled there were the prince's chief men, Afzal Khān, Faṭḥ-ullah Khān, 'Aṭā-ullah Khān, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān and others, with their friends and relations. Camel-riders, one after another, came in with reports of the increasing severity of Bahādūr Shāh's illness. About noon Rafi'ū-sh-shān left the mansion of 'Alī Mardān Khān, with his three sons and his family, and took shelter in a small tent put up for the occasion on the river sands. Kāmwar Khān was posted, with all the prince's men, at Katrah Shāh Balāwal³ to keep watch during the night. Mūmin

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 101, 102; Wārid, 59, 60; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 45. Valentyn, IV, 294, estimates the numbers of the contending forces as follows:—

			Horse	Foot
Jahāndār Shāh	...	...	20,000	30,000
Rafi'ū-sh-shān	...	...	8,000	8,000
Jahān Shāh	...	...	25,000	30,000
			53,000	68,000
'Aẓimu-sh-shān	...	...	30,000	30,000

We can give no record of the numbers slain in the subsequent fighting.

² i.e. In the chapter on Bahādūr Shāh's reign, which has not been yet published.

³ Shāh Balāwal, Qādirī, Lāhōrī, died 28th Sha'bān 1046 H. (4th Feb. 1637), aged 70 years. His tomb outside the Dilhī gate of Lāhōr was threatened by the Rāwī in 1252 H. (1836-7), when the body was exhumed and re-buried at a little distance, *Khazīnatu-l-asfīyah*, I, 161.

Khān was despatched to the left, to the river bank, at the head of prince Ibrāhīm's troops, while Fath-ullah Khān, Mughal, went out to the distance of a quarter of a *kōs* as an advanced guard. The rest of the troops were drawn up to form a centre and two wings, and thus the night was spent in anxious expectation of the next news.¹

In the morning Rafi'u-sh-shān learnt that his father had passed away at the first watch of the night, and that the imperial camp had fallen into the possession of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. A tumult had at once arisen, and without delay, dark though it was, the chief nobles had deserted their posts round the emperor's quarters, and had hastened to join one or other of the princes. A few men only, such as Islām Khān, the *mīr-ādash*, Hamidu-d-dīn Khān, Darbār Khān and Khawās Khān, remained at their posts and prevented the plunder of the women's apartments. Many men of lower station and all the traders, who had their families in camp, started for the city, leading their women and children by the hand. Most of their property was at once plundered by the loose characters hanging about the army, who collected at the Shālihmar garden, between the camp and the city, while the streets and lanes of Lāhōr were crowded with people who could find no house in which to obtain shelter. The camps of the four princes were in an uproar. The great nobles looked forward to inevitable death before the sun had set, while the soldiers clamoured for their arrears. Every sort of oppression was inflicted upon the paymasters; and whatever could be laid hands upon was carried off. Son could not help father, nor father, son; every one was wrapped up in thoughts for his own safety. Among others 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Khānsāmān or Lord Steward, fled to Lāhōr, and as soon as he had reached the city, made a pretext of being ill of a cold and thus avoided presenting himself at any of the four *darbārs*.²

At early dawn spies brought in word that prince Muḥammad Karīm, son of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, had started for the encampment of Mahābat Khān and Khān Zamān, sons of the late Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shāh's *vazīr*. The real objects of this movement had not been discovered by the other side. Naturally, it was supposed that 'Azīmu-sh-shān, having more treasure, men, elephants and cannon than the other three princes put together, and all the great nobles, with the exception of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, having joined him, had taken the field at once, without allowing his opponents time to collect more troops. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as soon as he heard of this movement on 'Azīmu-sh-shān's part, revived the courage of his troops, who wished to retreat, by quoting the proverb, 'Never take off

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 104, 105.

² Kāmwar Khān, 105; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 43; Yahyā Khān, fol. 117 a.

your stockings, till you see the ford.’¹ Then he rode off with a small escort to Jahān Shāh, who was near the tomb of Shāh Mīr,² and thence to the position of prince Rafi’u-sh-shān near the Rāvi. ‘Azīmu-sh-shān had made overtures to Rafi’u-sh-shān, who had at first held back from taking one side or the other, then by the persuasion of Zū-l-fiqār Khān had joined Jahāndār Shāh. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān was still a little suspicious of him and therefore proposed that, as his force was small, he should take up his position as the rearguard. To this Rafi’u-sh-shān consented, and as soon as he knew that Muḥammad Karīm had marched, he drew up on the bank of the Rāvi, at the head of 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen, about a bow-shot from his camp, and awaited the other side’s approach. In like manner, Jahāndār Shāh, accompanied by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, left his camp between the city and the Shālihmār gardens, where he had been ever since arriving at Lāhōr; and Jahān Shāh, mounting a swift gray horse, issued from his quarters near the tomb of Miyan Mīr in readiness to give battle.³

One watch of the day had hardly passed when ‘Azīmu-sh-shān’s troops, after showing on a rising ground, disappeared from view. By the reports of the spies it became clear that Muḥammad Karīm had come out, not to give battle, but to rescue the sons of Mun’im Khān and some other nobles, who were escorted to ‘Azīmu-sh-shān’s camp. This movement was due to the fact that Rājah Gūjar Mal and Jānī Khān had been sent by Zū-l-fiqār Khān to the tents of Mahābat Khān with the hope of persuading him to act as mediator between ‘Azīmu-sh-shān and his three brothers, the object being to gain time. When ‘Azīmu-sh-shān heard of this visit, he, suspecting that the sons of Mun’im Khān meant to desert him, sent his son to re-assure them, at the same time using the occasion to make a display of his own strength. The spies had also ascertained that ‘Azīmu-sh-shān intended to shun a battle in the open, preferring to entrench himself. The preparation of earthen defences had been ordered and his purpose was to rely upon his artillery and musket fire. This news was most re-assuring to the three princes, they returned joyfully to their camps, and ordered the enlistment of fresh troops.⁴

¹ ‘*Āb na dīdah, mōzah az pā kashīdan ci ma’nī-dārad.*’

² Shēkh Muḥammad Mīr called Shāh Mīr’ or Miyan Mīr, died at Lāhōr, 7th Rabi’ I, 1045 H. (21th Aug. 1635), and was buried in Hāshimpur near that city, Beale, 2nd ed., 304, and *Khazīnatu-l-asfīyah*, I, 154.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūru-d-dīn, Multānī, 23.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūru-d-dīn, 20, 24. Khāfi Khān, II, 686, says that ‘Azīmu-sh-shān moved his position and transferred his camp to the vicinity of Budānah village, three or four *kōs* from the city, where, having the Rāvi in his rear, he dug

2. 'AZĪMU-SH-SHĀN STANDS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

We will now return to 'Azīmu-sh-shān's camp. On the preceding night, when Aminu-d-dīn, Sambhalī, brought word that the emperor had passed away, 'Azīmu-sh-shān first shed a few tears of sorrow at his father's death, then the drums were beaten in honour of a new sovereign's accession, and all the persons in attendance presented their congratulations and offerings. The prince's advisers at once said to him that as Zū-l-fiqār Khān was an open enemy, not a moment should be lost in making him a prisoner. Since he was at that time alone between the imperial audience tent and the outer enclosure, they could easily capture him. Ni'mat-ullah Khān and 'Aqīdat Khān, in particular, insisted upon this order being given. From the first the prince made objections, for he feared that the imperial family would at once be plundered. After all, what could Zū-l-fiqār Khān do? Reliance must be placed on God's help alone. The leading men then ceased to urge the matter further, but said to each other, 'The Lord help and preserve us! the first words of invocation have been said wrong.'¹ On leaving the private audience-hall, Ni'mat-ullah Khān, disregarding the prince's order, rushed off with a strong force, but before he could reach the spot, Zū-l-fiqār Khān had left and gone to his own quarters, where he renewed his oaths to Jahāndār Shāh and by misleading promises persuaded the two younger princes to make common cause with their eldest brother.²

The next three days were passed by Zū-l-fiqār Khān in negotiating with the princes, rallying troops to their standard, and bringing artillery from the fort at Lāhōr. The former agreement between the princes was renewed. Zū-l-fiqār Khān visited Rafī'u-sh-shān and Jahān Shāh, and urged them both to carry out their enthronement and assume regal honours and titles. When Zū-l-fiqār Khān paid his visit to prince Rafī'u-sh-shān, he used the most flattering words and placed his head on the prince's feet. The prince said to him, 'You place your head on my feet, lay rather your hand on my head, for have I not become an orphan?' and taking the hand of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, pressed it. Zū-l-fiqār Khān made some appropriate reply and then left for his own camp.³

a ditch round the other three sides. Faqīr Sayyad Jamālu-d-dīn, in a letter of the 12th January 1893 (with which I was favoured by my old friend, Mr. A. H. Benton of the Civil Service) says that there is now no Budānah village there, and suggests instead Ūwān, some miles N. E. of the Shāhīlmār garden.

¹ *Bism-illah-i-avval ghalat shud*. [That is to say, the very first step taken is a wrong one. Ed.]

² *Dastūru-l-inshā*, 16.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 107; Nūru-d-dīn, 26. There is a long letter, which I reject as apocryphal, in a work professing to be the *Inshāe* of Har Karan, son of MathurāDās,

In two or three days' time a large force of soldiers, some of long service but most of them greedy mercenaries, had been collected, and the artillery had been strengthened by the guns removed from the city walls. Three of the very largest guns were removed from the fort, each being dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it was ten days before the distance to camp was covered. One of these was sent to Rafi'ū-sh-shān and one to Jahān Shāh. When everything was ready, the three princes left their old positions and encamped close to each other in a wide and open plain. 'Azīmu-sh-shān all this time never left the shelter of his earthen entrenchments, but contented himself with the daily discharge of a gun or two. On their side, the three princes advanced daily at the rate of about one-eighth of a *kōs*, or one-third of a mile, encamping each evening on the ground where they stood, and keeping an active look-out for fear of a night attack. In these nightly halts many of the new troops left the army, and it almost looked as if Jahāndār Shāh would be forced to retreat without fighting. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān exerted themselves to keep the men together. At length, early in the month of Ṣafar (1st Ṣafar 1125 H.=9th March 1712), they pitched their camp not far from the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. For another two or three days, an artillery duel was maintained, and from time to time 'Azīmu-sh-shān's men made sallies and engaged the outposts of the attacking army.¹

On the other side, Mirzā Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ṣafawī, urged prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān to take the field and give battle in the open. Dayā Bahādūr and others joined with him in his entreaties.² They believed that by one sudden onset they could drive the whole of the enemy's force away. The only answer they could obtain was 'wait a little longer.'³ After that they could say no more. 'Azīmu-sh-shān relied on the extent of his treasure; he had also received pledges from Curāman, Jāt, and the Banjārah grain-carriers that his camp should not suffer from scarcity of grain. In his opponents' camp there was, as he thought, nothing

Multānī, and said to have been compiled in Mhd. Shāh's reign (1131–1161 H.). In it Jahāndār Shāh expostulates with 'Azīmu-sh-shān, and ends with the defiance, *Dam az mihr dah, yā ba kīn zan payām, Kalām-am bar īn khatam shud ō us-salām*. 'Breathe words of love, or send your challenge, My speech closes with this and so farewell.' According to the true *Inshāe Har Karan* the letter, of which the above is an imitation, was addressed in 1068 H. by Aurangzeb to Dārā Shikōh.

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 107; Nūru-d-dīn, 28.

² The *Dastūru-l-īnshā*, 17, also names Amīnu-d-dīn, Ni'mat-ullah Khān, Nawāb 'Azīz Khān, Rājah Muḥkam Singh Khatri, Rājah Rāj Singh Bahādūr, Bāz Khān and 'Umr Khān.

³ *Andak būshād*.

but poverty, and their men must disperse or die from hunger. Moreover, he had an exalted opinion of his own abilities and an equally low one of his brothers' capacities. Mu'izzu-d-dīn had doubtless, shown himself a good soldier in his grandfather's and father's time, but now want of means rendered him quite helpless. As for Rafī'u-sh-shān, he had the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high-priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied :

Holding mirror and comb in hand,
Like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.¹

Then as for Jahān Shāh, his conceit was such that he thought his very name enough to put an enemy to flight. For all these reasons he thought that the longer he delayed, the greater would be his advantage. Nor was he at all liberal in the distribution of money to his soldiers, his miserliness being proverbial. It was a saying that the coldest place to be found was 'Azīmu-sh-shān's kitchen. To every report that was made his only reply was the unchanging *andak bāshīd*, 'Wait a little longer.' When they saw this state of things, his followers were much dejected and made sure that Heaven did not favour their cause.²

On the 6th Ṣafar (14th March 1712) the three princes were close to the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. On both sides, small groups of men came out and fought. In the course of two days, batteries for the guns were made ready through the exertions of 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, and by these batteries three sides of 'Azīmu-sh-shān's position were commanded. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān wished, if he could, to blow up 'Azīmu-sh-shān's powder magazine. But Sulaimān Khān, Pannī,³ was too much on the alert. One night, however, the besiegers found the sentinels asleep and entered the camp by climbing over one corner of the earthen wall. In the darkness they encountered the outposts of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ṣafawī, and were forced to return with their purpose unexecuted.⁴

The next day (7th Ṣafar 1124 H. = 15th March, 1712), the besieged began a cannon fire, which they kept up continuously for some time. Repeatedly Kōkaltāsh Khān and Jānī Khān, commanding on the side of the investors, were forced to abandon their batteries and seek shelter behind walls. But, from a battery on the north, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān

¹ *Ā'inah ō shānah giriftah ba dast, Cūn zan-i-ra'nā, shudah gēsū-parast.*

² Nūru-d-dīn, 27; *Dastūru-l-inshā*, 17; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 47; Yahyā Khān, 117 b.

³ Brother of Dā'ūd Khān, Pannī, nāib-sūbahdār of the Dakhin.

⁴ Nūru-d-dīn, 28.

returned shot for shot. However, when the attack on two sides of the entrenchment had been withdrawn, as above stated, Shāh Nawāz Khān, without asking the prince's leave, came out at the head of 2,000 cavalry. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Jānī Khān opposed him. Just as those on Jahāndār Shāh's side were about to be defeated, Prince Jahān Shāh arrived with reinforcements, and forced the other side to take to flight. The prince himself received a slight wound on the arm, but Shāh Nawāz Khān, while retreating, received two sword cuts in the back from Jānī Khān and his horse's tail was cut off. Pursuing the fugitives, Jahān Shāh arrived at the walls of the earth-work. Thereupon Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, and his tribesmen, from their position on the walls, shot arrows and fired off rockets. In another direction, Dayā Bahādur offered a stout resistance and put many of Jahān Shāh's men to flight. But Jahān Shāh himself held his ground, nay continued to advance, shouting to the fugitives 'Are you men, if not, go home and put on women's apparel.' At this juncture, Mukhtār Khān threw himself bravely into the *mêlée* at the head of his most trusted followers. When he had fought his way close to Jahān Shāh, he flung himself from his horse, and according to the ancient practice of Hindūstān, continued the contest on foot, shooting his arrows and dealing blows about him with his sword. It was near to sunset when he forced his opponents to beat a retreat. Several men of note on 'Aẓimu-sh-shān's side, such as Razā Khān and Karīm Khān, were slain.¹

When after night-fall Jahān Shāh reached his quarters, Zū-l-fiqār Khān came in person on the part of Jahāndār Shāh to congratulate him on the victory, and by his flattering speeches kept the prince in good humour. He added that on the morrow it was his turn to take up the fighting and display his zeal for the cause. Next he visited Rafi'u-sh-shān, and talked to him in the same strain and impressed him so favourably, that he proposed to head the attack in person on the following day. Thence Zū-l-fiqār Khān went to the camp of Jahāndār Shāh and laid before him other plans. At his suggestion, Jahāndār Shāh sent a message in very friendly terms to prince Rafi'u-sh-shān asking him to give up his idea of heading an attack. Rafi'u-sh-shān returned his thanks but renewed his request, and very early in the morning (8th Ṣafar) moved out at the head of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry, and boldly delivering his attack, forced a way to the foot of the entrenchment. The besieged replied with artillery fire and rockets, but repeated charges of Rafi'u-sh-shān's troops so demoralized many of them that they flung musket and rocket down and fled for shelter behind the wall. Then the men on Jahāndār Shāh's side mounted the wall and shot down their

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 29, 30, 31.

arrows on their foe within. They had almost succeeded in making their way into the entrenchment, when Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, followed by five hundred Afghāns and two hundred of Shāh Nawāz Khān's men, with Gul Khān at their head, arrived to reinforce the half-defeated defenders. Their arrows flew so thick and straight that the attacking party could not stand up against them but withdrew again from the top of the wall. Thereupon Sulaimān Khān followed in pursuit.¹

On issuing from the entrenchment, Sulaimān Khān advanced against the centre of Rafi'ū-sh-shān's division. The fighting became general and both sides struggled bravely for victory. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, at the head of 2,000 men belonging to Kōkaltāsh Khān and Jānī Khān, speeded to reinforce his own side, and without distinguishing friend from foe, ordered his bowmen to shoot off their arrows. If this help had not arrived, a disaster would have occurred to Rafi'ū-sh-shān. The men who had dispersed re-assembled and resumed the offensive. Seven to eight thousand men, horse and foot, bore down on Sulaimān Khān and encircled him. Sulaimān Khān withstood the flood undismayed, and the fight waxed hot. In the thickest of the fray, an arrow hit Gul Khān in the throat and killed him, after which his men fell into disorder. Pressed back by repeated charges of Jahāndār Shāh's troops, Sulaimān Khān felt the day was lost, and turning his horse's head, he retreated into the entrenchment, where he resumed his fire from the shelter of the wall. The sky grew black with smoke. Many on both sides were killed or wounded. However, on Jahāndār Shāh's side no one of any note was injured, and when the sun had set, Rafi'ū-sh-shān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān returned in safety to their quarters.²

After the first day's fighting, in which 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān had penetrated into the entrenchment, but retreated without effecting his purpose, Shāh Nawāz Khān hired several deft-handed Qalmāq slaves and sent them to assassinate Jahāndār Shāh. Evading the out-posts, these men succeeded in penetrating at night as far as the tent occupied by the prince. The eunuch on watch called out, 'Who is there, what do you want?' Their only reply was to cut him down and attempt to enter the tent. But a groan came from the dying eunuch and his falling body shook the ropes and sides of the tent. This untimely noise roused a Qalmāq woman servant of the harem, called Rāemān, who was possessed of considerable strength. She ran out to see what was the matter. Observing the strangers she gave the alarm. The men retreated, pursued by Rāemān, and one of them caught his foot in a tent-rope and fell. Rāemān slew him with a dagger and was herself wounded slightly on the arm. Hearing the noise, sentinels ran from all

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 33.² Nūru-d-dīn, 33, 35.

directions but the Qalmāqs mixed in the crowd and thus succeeded in escaping. After Jahāndār Shāh had obtained quiet possession of the throne, he conferred on Rāemān the title of Rustam-i-Hind, a curious choice, giving as it did an opening for the scoffer to say that in India their only Rustam was a woman!¹

On the third day of the fighting (8th Ṣafar), the three princes advanced together to the attack, beginning it with an artillery fire. Zū-l-fiqār Khān took the direction of these operations. The cannon were posted on the mounds² formed of the débris left from brick-burning. The besieged were much harassed by the fire and many leaders quitted their posts and tried to escape. Finding the way closed by the besiegers they could only return within the entrenchment. Rājah Pirthī Rāj, Bundēlah,³ by repeated attacks reduced the besieged to despair. Then Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, and Shāh Nawāz Khān, with nearly 2,000 men of their own race, appeared on the northern wall, but there ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān barred their exit. In another direction, where Pirthī Rāj was closely threatening the entrenchment, Kēsri Singh, brother of Muḥkam Singh, Khatri, made a sally and engaged his opponent hand to hand. Pirthī Rāj was nearly overwhelmed, when Rafī‘u-sh-shān detached to his aid Faṭḥ-ullah Khān and his Mughal horse. These men charged with drawn swords. ‘Azīmu-sh-shān then sent out Dayā Rām, Nāgar,⁴ to reinforce Kēsri Singh. While the contest was still undecided, Jahāndār Shāh arrived in person, and a rumour spreading that ‘Azīmu-sh-shān intended to flee, his commanders, Sulaimān Khān, Shah Nawāz Khān, Kēsri Singh and Dayā Rām, withdrew their men and returned to seek their master. Jahāndār Shāh and his two brothers proceeded in triumph to their previous encampment.⁵

3. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ‘AZĪMU-SH-SHĀN.

After three days of indecisive fighting Zū-l-fiqār Khān bethought himself of another device for weakening the enemy. On the night of

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 35, 36; Kāmwar Khān, 108.

² For those not familiar with the north of India it may be necessary to explain that these mounds, thirty or forty feet high, are to be found outside every brick-built town.

³ A son of R. Cattarsāl, Bundēlah.

⁴ Called generally Dayā Bahādur, a title given him in Bahādur Shāh’s 4th year (1710-11), when he returned to Court from the charge of Kōrah (Sūbah Allāhābād), where he was succeeded by his brother, Chabēlah Rām (B. M. No 1690 fol. 156 a). These men were styled *Mahtah*, a word which means ‘head’ or ‘chief,’ and is ordinarily applied now to the richest or most important tenant in a village. The *Nāgars* are a sub-division of the Brahmin caste, and are chiefly found in Gujarāt.

⁵ Nūru-d-dīn, 37, 38.

Bahādur Shāh's death he had sent out troops in three directions in order to prevent all escape by the ferries on the Rāwī river, and had sent flattering promises and a note in Jahāndār Shāh's hand-writing to Maḥābat Khān and the other sons of Mun'im Khān, the deceased vazīr. Many imperial commanders and soldiers were encamped in great discomfort on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river, where they also suffered occasionally from cannon shot which fell in that direction. It occurred to Zū-l-fiqār Khān that if his guards at the ferries were withdrawn, all these men would be only too glad to make their escape with their families. Accordingly this order was carried out during the night between the 8th and the 9th Ṣafar. Many marched away to a place of safety, and many joined the standard of Jahāndār Shāh. The movement also extended itself to 'Azīmu-sh-shān's own adherents. Crowds of men during this night, on pretence of placing their families out of danger, made their escape from the earth-work. None of them were touched or hindered by the other side; all were allowed to pursue their own way. Among the first who fled were Maḥābat Khān and Khān Zamān Khān, sons of Mun'im Khān and Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, Qūl, 'Ālamgīrī, all of whom crossed the Rāwī during the hottest of the fighting. Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ṣafawī, Dayā Rām, Nāgar, and Kēsri Singh remained faithful and passed the night on the alert.¹

When morning broke on the 9th Ṣafar (17th March, 1712), the three princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. Zū-l-fiqār Khān took command of the centre by the side of Jahāndār Shāh; 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was put at the head of the vanguard; Kōkaltāsh Khān was on the right and Jānī Khān on the left wing. Jahān Shāh supported the vanguard and Rafī'u-sh-shān commanded the rear. In this order they advanced towards the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery-fire, and Jahāndār Shāh's guns after each volley were advanced slowly until they were close to the earthen wall. Suddenly Kēsri Singh and his men charged the guns but were repulsed by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān. In the hand to hand encounter, Kēsri Singh was shot and fell from his horse. His men were thrown into confusion. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, seeing his chance, encouraged his men with a loud voice, and in a short space their opponents were all put to the edge of the sword, not one escaping alive. Following up their advantage, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and his men rushed on towards the entrenchment. Pirthī Rāj, leader of Jahān Shāh's vanguard, and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān entered the position together. Sulaimān Khān and his

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 108; Wārid, 62; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 49. B.M., 1690, fol. 158 b, adds Sarfarāz Khān to the fugitives. They took refuge in the Lāhōr Masjid.

fellow-Afghāns met and opposed their onset. Once he succeeded in forcing back the assailants. But ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān supported Pirthī Rāj vigorously. Shāh Nawāz Khān, by ‘Azīmu-sh-shān’s order, now arrived with reinforcements commanded by some Afghān leaders, such as Ma’li Khān and his son, ‘Alwī Khān. Most of Sulaimān Khān’s Afghāns were killed. Shāh Nawāz Khān was severely wounded and withdrew, having seventeen arrows sticking in him,¹ while Sulaimān Khān still stood firm, with a hundred of his own most trusty followers, and fronted ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Pirthī Rāj. The Turānī bowmen, noted for their skill, shot their arrows at Sulaimān Khān and his men, and every arrow emptied a saddle. The Afghāns treated it as if they were being pelted with flowers, and still barred the way. When only some thirty or forty horsemen were left, and all hope of reinforcements had vanished, Sulaimān Khān, seeing that further effort was fruitless, collected his men and retreated. As soon as the way was thus opened, ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān accompanied by Pirthī Rāj pressed onwards.²

In another part of the field Dayā Rām, Nāgar, attacked Jahān Shāh’s guns, hoping to pass through them and reach the centre of that prince’s division. But Afzal Khān’s courageous resistance defeating this manœuvre, Dayā Rām drew rein and turned off towards Jahāndār Shāh’s batteries. Here Dayā Bahādur was shot down. His men then dispersed in every direction and sought safety in flight. Those who made off towards the Rāvi were met and killed by Rafī‘u-sh-shān’s troops, who protected the rear of Jahāndār Shāh’s division.³

At length, Jahāndār Shāh obtained an entrance to the entrenched position of ‘Azīmu-sh-shān. Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s and Jahān Shāh’s troops took possession of the walls, while Kōkaltāsh Khān, at the head of 4,000 horsemen, was sent to the assistance of ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān inside the entrenchment. As Jahāndār Shāh’s men began to gain the upper hand, Muḥammad Karīm, eldest son of ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, quitted his father and crossing the river hid in the house of a poor cotton-carder or weaver, where he was seized a few days afterwards, as will be related hereafter.⁴ Jahāndār Shāh’s army now advanced in a body against

¹ Shāh Nawāz Khān died of his wounds (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, 1124). See his biography in *Ma’āşiru-l-umarā*, III, 692. He was the last of the Ṣafawī race who distinguished himself in India; he was in the sixth generation from Shāh Ism’ail, Ṣafawī, (1500–24). Seven women of the family had been married to princes of the Mughal imperial house. For lives of Ṣafawīs in India, see *Ma’āşiru-l-umarā*, II, 670; III, 296, 434, 477, 555, 556, 581, 583, 677, 692.

² Kāmwar Khān, 108; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 50; Yahyā Khān, fol. 117 b.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, 43.

⁴ One account (Mḥd. Qāsim, 52) says that he had lost his way at the end of the

Azīmu-sh-shān. Sulaimān Khān tried all in vain to re-inspire his troops, with confidence. Resolving to sell his own life dearly, he met Jahāndār Shāh's men with repeated discharges of arrows, until in a short time final disaster fell on 'Azīmu-sh-shān's partisans through the loss of the prince, their leader.¹

During this day 'Azīmu-sh-shān had preserved the same attitude as hitherto of a helpless waiter on events. When Dayā Bahādur and Muḥkam Singh entreated him to give orders to assume the offensive, no other answer could they force from him except his eternal *andak bāshīd*, 'Wait a little longer.' They spoke their minds freely to him and went against the enemy without waiting for his orders. We have seen above how little advantage they reaped, in spite of all their exertions. Sufficient reinforcements were not sent, and by the end of the day most of the troops had vanished, having sought a refuge in Lāhōr city. At last out of the 60,000 to 70,000 men that he had at first under his command, 'Azīmu-sh-shān was left with 10,000 to 12,000 men only. During the night which preceded the last day's fighting, the rest of the men deserted. The artillery fire continuing all night long, every man thought of his own safety. Only a few determined to remain steadfast so long as 'Azīmu-sh-shān was still alive, and these passed the night in watching and prayer. At early dawn the drum beat for them to take horse. But, when the prince's war elephant was brought up, it refused to allow him to mount, and his attendants were forced to send for another. Round him were grouped Ni'mat-ullah Khān and 'Aqīdat Khān in palkis, for they said they were wounded, Rājah Rāj Singh of Kishnagarh with about 1,000 men, and Amīnu-d-dīn, Sambhalī, with twelve relations or dependents and ten new men. Shortly afterwards Khawājah Muḥammad A'ṣim,² pay-master of the Aḥādīs, with Ghulām Ḥusain, an Afghān of Kasūr near Lāhōr, joined the party. In all there may have been two thousand men round the prince.³

It so happened that a high wind sprang up and the sand from the Rāwī banks rose in clouds. Everything was blotted from view; all

first day's fighting and wandered all night round his own camp without being able to find it. At dawn one of his servants found him, changed his clothes, put him on a horse and took him to a weaver's house in the quarter of Talbaghā, near the shrine of Pīr 'Alī, Hajwīrī. This saint died in 456 H. (1063-4) and was buried at Lāhōr—(Beale 246). The mausoleum is now known as Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh (S. Mhd. Laṭīf, *History of the Panjab*, 84).

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 44.

² Afterwards Ashraf Khān, and subsequently Ṣamīṣamu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān Bahādur (d. 1151 H., February, 1739).

³ *Dastūru-l-inshā*, 18.

that they could hear was the report of the cannon, all that they could do was to shut their eyes to keep out the dust. Jahāndār Shāh's army could not see them, nor could they see any trace of him. Suddenly some Mughals bore down on them and let fly their arrows, by which some flesh wounds were caused. The Mughals did not recognize the prince, and rode on to plunder the treasure and horses. Then a ball from a small gun (*rahkalah*)¹ passed close over the prince's elephant and set fire to the cushions, so that the smoke hindered the view. The prince threw the cushion down, and when asked, said that no harm had been done. Amīnu-d-dīn recommended him to mount his horse and take flight either to Bengal, where he was well known, or to the Dakhin, where Dāūd Khān, Pannī, was favourable to him. In either place, he could recruit his forces and renew the struggle. The prince replied that Dārā Shikōh and Muḥammad Shujā'² had gained nothing by flight, ending by quoting in Arabic the words 'With God's help the few shall overcome the many.' Thus they might still win the day. Amīnu-d-dīn said he had only twenty-two followers left. The prince asked for ten of them with which to make a charge on Mu'izzu-d-dīn, the other twelve could be led by Amīnu-d-dīn against Jahān Shāh. This talk was just ended when Khwājah Mḥd, A'ṣim, the paymaster of the Aḥadi troops, came from his station, and out of friendship to Amīnu-d-dīn, called out, 'I am off to Bengal, come with me.' Amīnu-d-dīn refused to leave while the prince was still alive. Muḥammad A'ṣim then went off towards Sultānpur, in the Jālandhar *duābah*, and finally made his way to prince Farrukhsiyar at Paṭnah. Rājah Rāj Bahādur escaped to his home country of Kishnagarh.³

In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which prince 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Rāwī, the driver fell off, and Jalāl Khān, Lōdī,⁴ the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Amīnu-d-dīn and others galloped in pursuit at the top of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind

¹ *Rahkalah*, J. Shakespeare *Dict.*, 1203, a small cannon, a swivel, a field-piece; also a cart.

² Sons of the emperor Shāhjahān, who contended for the succession with their brother, Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr.

³ *Dastūru-l-inshā*, 18; and B. M. 1690, fol. 158 b; Kishnagarh is in Rājputānah, north-east of Ajmer.

⁴ He was a *qarāwul* (hunter) and *qūsh-bēgī* (chief falconer), *Wārīd*, 62. He died at the end of Ṣafar 1136 H. at Dihli, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*.

in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand. Amīnu-d-dīn passed the night alone under the shade of a tree, and in the morning sought refuge in the city of Lāhōr.¹

4. THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL.

The three princes ordered the drums to beat for a victory, they sent congratulations to each other, and returned to their quarters with loud rejoicings. The plunderers were meanwhile busy and, with the exception of the treasure and the women's tents, which were protected by a girdle of cannon, the whole contents of that great camp were carried off and hardly a trace of it was left. Such persons as escaped from it were stopped and relieved of their belongings by the men attached to Jahāndār Shah's artillery, whose camp was at the Shālihmar garden. Horses and camels without number and much property fell into these men's hands. Jahāndār Shāh's troops speedily surrounded and took possession of the carts laden with treasure, of the cannon, and of the household of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. Thus the painfully collected wealth of that prince, the fruit of years of meanness, became in a moment the prey of his adversary.²

The claims of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, whom judicious observers had considered the destined successor to the throne, being thus finally disposed of, the agents of the two younger princes attended Zū-l-fiqār Khān for several days in succession with a request for a division of the booty and the realm, according to the compact that had been entered into. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān, his pride raised above all bounds by such a victory over his most powerful opponent, had forgotten all his oaths and promises. Furthermore, it was clear to everybody that just as

¹ *Dastūru-l-īnshā*, 20,—Kāmwar Khān, 109, says that 'Azīmu-sh-shān's corpse was brought in, and speaks (138) of its being sent by Farrukhsiyar to Aurangābād for burial; Yahyā Khān, 117, b also says it was found in the river and brought in; but I prefer the account in Amīnu-d-dīn's letters, as given in the *Dastūru-l-īnshā*. I believe these letters to be genuine, and they were evidently so considered by Ghulām Husain Khān, who used them in writing his *Sairu-l-mutākharrin*, see Briggs, 29. Wārid, 63, states that the elephant was brought in, but many believed that 'Azīmu-sh-shān escaped alive, since his body had not been found. When Wārid wrote, nineteen years afterwards, the prince had never been heard of. Others asserted that Rājah Rāj Singh, styled Rāj Bahādur, had carried off the corpse to his own country, i.e., Kishnagarh (Mhd. Qāsim, 51).

² Kāmwar Khān, 109, 110.

two swords cannot be got into one scabbard, there cannot be two kings in one kingdom.¹ Each day witnessed the invention of new excuses.² His hope was that the two princes having no money, their armies, largely composed of mere mercenaries, would during this prolonged delay disperse of themselves. One day he paid a visit to prince Rafi'ū-sh-shān and made to him the usual evasive promises. Another day he visited Jahān Shāh. Rustam Dil Khān, who had been released from prison shortly before Bahādur Shāh's death, had from the first taken the side of Jahān Shāh. He and Mukhlis Khān, Hārisī, now said to the prince that this man (Zū-l-fiqār Khān) was the root of all the troubles, if he were disposed of, the rest would be easy. Jahān Shāh refused his consent, repeating the line, 'When God the Beneficent is our friend, what can our enemy do?'³ Moreover, Zū-l-fiqār Khān's obsequious manners in his presence led him to believe that the man was at heart his friend. One of Jahān Shāh's chief men gave Zū-l-fiqār Khān a hint and he hastened his departure, asking as a pretext that an officer might be sent with him to take over the prince's share of the treasure and military stores. The prince, only too delighted at the prospect, gave him his dismissal at once. As he left he said to the two nobles above-named, 'You have done your best for your master, but if he does not accept, it is because fate so decrees and not through your fault.' When he reached his quarters, he gave a flat denial to the officer who had accompanied him, and sent off both money and *matériel* to Jahāndār Shāh.⁴

During this interval Rafi'ū-sh-shān, through his conduct to Ḥakimu-l-Mulk, had cooled the zeal of any nobles who might have assisted him. Ḥakimu-l-Mulk had received from him a promise of being his chief minister, and was deep in his confidence. But by chance there fell into the prince's hands letters from the Ḥakim to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, giving full details of all the prince's intentions and plans. These letters had, it seems, been passing daily. Ḥakimu-l-Mulk was sent for and so severely treated that he was carried away to his quarters half dead.⁵

5. DEATH OF JAHĀN SHĀH.

At last no doubt remained of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's intentions, and further delay was obviously useless. The princes ordered the enlist-

¹ *Dō shamshēr dar yak ghilāf o dō Pādshāh dar yak mulk būdan muḥāl ast, Yahyā Khān, 117 b.*

² The Dutchmen, who take Jahāndār Shāh's side throughout, put the blame on prince Jahān Shāh's greediness, in claiming one-half instead of one-third of the confiscated property—Valentyn, IV, 293.

³ *Dushman cah kunad, cū Mihrbān bāshad dōst.*

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Khūshhāl Cand, 385 a-386 a; Yahyā Khān, 117 b.

⁵ Yahyā Khān, fol. 118 a.

ment of fresh troops, and a number of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān's fugitive troops returned from Lāhor city and were admitted into Jahān Shāh's service. Some three thousand or four thousand experienced soldiers were thus recruited. Jahāndār Shāh adopted similar measures, taking on many of the fugitives at high rates of pay. Rafi'u-sh-shān did the same. A few days only had passed since these men had been ranged in battle against their new employers; then for a time they had been unable to find bread to eat and were trembling for their very lives. By one of those transformations peculiar to such times, they were now restored to prosperity as suddenly as they had been plunged into poverty. In eight days from the defeat and death of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān all preparations had been completed.¹

On the 18th Ṣafar 1124 H. (26th March, 1712) Jahān Shāh made the first movement. He marched from his old position near Shāh Mir's tomb and encamped near the village of Hāndū Gūjar, where there was an imperial hunting preserve.² At once Jahāndār Shāh sent out his advance guard under Kōkaltāsh Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, now his *Mir-ātaṣh* or general of artillery. The fighting was confined to the artillery. Rustam Dil Khān, who had charge of the artillery for Jahān Shāh, placed two cannon in a commanding position and killed many men, the fight being continued until the setting of the sun. Both armies encamped on the ground they occupied, and under cover of night many of the mercenaries absconded. The numbers on both sides were thereby much diminished. During this night Jahān Shāh's powder magazines were exploded. Rājī Muḥammad Khān, afterwards Jahāndār Shāh's *Mir-ātaṣh*, obtained the credit of this exploit.³

The next day (19th Ṣafar 1124 H, 27th March, 1712)⁴ the fight was renewed, and it continued till the sun had passed the meridian, when both combatants prepared to rest and refresh themselves where they stood. Owing to the hot wind and exhaustion, the fighting had been up to this time far from vigorous. Jahān Shāh now ordered a charge to be made by Rustam Dil Khān, Jānī Khān and Mukhliṣ Khān. They rushed forward 'as a hungry tiger out of ambush flings itself on a buffalo's head.' Rustam Dil Khān reached without hindrance Jahāndār Shāh's vanguard

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Nūru-d-dīn, 50.

² Query *Mandū Gujran* on Indian Atlas, sheet No. 30, just north of Mian Mir and the Railway line?

³ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Nūru-d-dīn, 51; Mhd. Qāsim, 54; Valentyn, IV, 293.

⁴ This is Kāmwar Khān's date, but the Dutch Envoy, then in Lāhor, (Valentyn, IV, 294) says the 27th March was spent by Jahān Shāh in a heavy cannonade and the attack was delivered on the 28th. Mirzā Muḥammad, p. 131, who was also there, gives the 20th Ṣafar (28th March) as the date of the prince's defeat.

which with little or no effort he drove before him, and pursuing the fugitives, he soon reached their centre. Here A'zzu-d-din, the eldest son of Jahāndār Shāh, was made a prisoner. Nor far off was a small field-tent, in which Jahāndār Shāh had passed the night with his concubine, Lāl Kunwar.¹ Surprised by this sudden attack, the prince came out and mounted his elephant, while Lāl Kunwar entered a litter and fled for safety to the mansion of Dārā Shikōh in the city of Lāhōr, a house which had been recently assigned to her.²

Rustam Dil Khān, followed by Jānī Khān and Mir Bāqī, forced his way to the elephant bearing Jahāndār Shāh, to whom he made use of the most abusive language. The prince's defenders Dilār Dil Khān (Khawājah 'Abdullah), his brother, Luṭfu-l-lah Khān, Ṣādiq, and Rāi Sūrat Singh, Multānī, with his relations, did what they could to protect their master, but were driven away. Jahāndār Shāh, before his assailants came too close, crouched down in the high-sided, iron-plated canopy ('imārī) so as to be completely hidden from view. The horsemen, supposing that the prince had quitted his elephant, turned off and attacked his escort. The plausible talk of the prince's elephant-driver meanwhile so deceived Rustam Dil Khān and Jānī Khān that they too desisted, and turned their attention elsewhere. By the time that they had learned the truth and could return, the elephant-driver had driven his elephant away to a place of safety. Then came disturbing reports of the defeat and death of Jahān Shāh. As soon as these were confirmed, Rustam Dil Khān and Jānī Khān felt perplexed, and in the hope of securing for themselves an intercessor, they released their prisoner, prince A'zzu-d-din. All haste was then made to the place where Jahān Shāh had fallen a victim to Zū-l-fiqār Khān's attack. By heroic exertions Rustam Dil Khān and his companions rescued the prince's elephant from the hands of the enemy: but all was in vain, they recovered nothing but a lifeless body. The only course left to them was to seek safety in flight.³

Soon after ordering the charge by Rustam Dil Khān, Jahān Shāh

¹ Mhd Qāsim, 55, calls her *Lād Kunwar*. She was a singing girl, who had become Jahāndār Shāh's favourite concubine. The *Hadiqatu-l-Aqālīm*, 131, says she was the daughter of Khaṣūṣīyat Khān, a descendant of Miṣṣān Tān Sēn, the celebrated musician of Akbar's time. (Blochmann, *Āin*, I, 612). There is the same statement in *Dastūru-l-inṣhā*, 133, from which Shekh Allahyār probably copied. There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary History, Bill, Or. 3610, fol. 18 b, which ends thus:

*Ba khūbī La'l Kunwar nām-i-ū būd,
Shakkar-guftār, sīm-andām-i-ū būd.*

² Warid, 65.

³ Warid, 66; Kāmwar Khān, 112; Mhd Qāsim, Lāhori, 54, 55.

followed him in person at the head of his own troops. The movements of so many men had created so much dust that it was impossible to keep the right direction, nor could the one army know the exact position of the other. The battle resolved itself into a number of separate skirmishes, the men attacking any one that they found in front of them, without regard to their own supports or any attempt at combined effort. Rustam Dil Khān's charge had been so far successful that Jahāndār Shāh's troops were shaken, and most of them took to flight and sought shelter wherever they could find it. One body of matchlockmen succeeded in reaching a deserted village, and there they hid themselves behind the ruined walls of the houses. In the confusion, and blinded by the clouds of dust, the wings and centre of Jahān Shāh's force quitted the direction in which their vanguard had advanced, and losing their way, arrived at the village within which the matchlockmen were hiding. As Jahān Shāh's men came into sight, the fugitives supposed that their retreat had been discovered, and resolved on selling their lives dearly. Jahān Shāh was amazed by the sudden delivery of their fire, and his men hesitated. Emboldened by this first success, the matchlockmen renewed their fire and continued their defence.¹

When informed of the unexpected attack on Jahāndār Shāh, Zū-l-fiqār Khān left his tents in great perturbation to search for his master. On his way spies brought him word that a few matchlockmen had engaged Jahān Shāh, when separated from the main body of his army and followed by no more than one thousand horsemen. Zū-l-fiqār Khān hastened to the spot thus indicated. His arrival encouraged the matchlockmen to redouble their exertions. Jahān Shāh, noticing the slackness of his men, drove his elephant to the front. The musket-fire now began to tell so severely that Jahān Shāh's side relaxed all further effort, and most of them rode off. Excepting the few men round his elephant, the prince was left alone. The other side now assumed the offensive, and the prince's son, Farkhanda Akhtar, who had claimed command of the vanguard, was shot through the head at the first discharge. A moment afterwards Jahān Shāh followed his son into the realms of Death. By one of those sudden reversals of fortune, so frequent in Eastern story, just as Jahāndār Shāh was about to flee in despair from the battle field, Zū-l-fiqār Khān appeared with his rival's head and laid it before him with his congratulations. As Shēkh Sa'dī, Shīrāzī, says, 'A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend; when morning came, he was dead and the friend was living.'²

¹ Wārid, 67.

² Shakhshē hamah shab bar sar-i-bīmar garīst : Cūn rōz shud, ū ba-murd, bīmār ba-zīst.

It is even said that so complete was the belief in Jahān Shāh's victory that the news of his accession was spread far and wide by the messengers of the Rājputāna moneylenders, and in many places the *Khutbah* was read in his name.¹

6. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RAFI'U-SH-SHĀN.

Until two hours after sunset on this day, Rafi'u-sh-shān stood two *kōs* from the field of battle, with his army drawn up in readiness. He had been advised to stand aloof and await the result of Jahān Shāh's efforts. The astrologers had also told him that in the end, the prize would fall to his lot. In this way his inaction is to be accounted for. It was now necessary to find out how the day had gone.² The patrols and scouts brought in conflicting reports; the only thing certain was that one or other of the two parties had gained the day. At length, when about one-fourth of the night had passed, an elephant without a driver appeared in the distance. When it had been captured, it was found that within the canopy was seated one of the children of Jahān Shāh with its nurse. Rafi'u-sh-shān re-assured the child by giving him some fruit, and from his lips the fate of the battle was learnt. The prince then sent one of his eunuchs to Jahāndār Shāh with a message to the effect that he (Rafi'u-sh-shān) not having in any way broken the compact, what were his brother's intentions with respect to him? On reaching the tent of Jahāndār Shāh, the eunuch was told that the emperor, tired out by exertions extending over a whole day and night, had retired to rest and could not be disturbed. The messenger proceeded next to the quarters of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, where he was met with the same excuse. He now took his way to Kōkaltāsh Khān, whom he found still awake, and to him he conveyed his master's message. Kōkaltāsh Khān, styled indignantly by Kāmwar Khān a 'senseless blockhead,' called out 'Perhaps you have come to see Jahān Shāh; there they are, the corpses of father and son; tell Rafi' if he wants to fight, he will meet the same fate.' The eunuch returned and reported to his master what he had heard and seen.³

At midnight Rafi'u-sh-shān dismounted from his elephant and called his chief men around him for a council of war. One officer argued that as Jahāndār Shāh and his men were worn out, they ought to attack

¹ Wārid, 70; *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, II, 93; Khāfi Khān, II, 687; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 57.

² Valentyn, IV, 293, says that, although Rafi'u-sh-shān had received twenty-five lakhs of rupees to remain neutral, he attacked Jahāndār Shāh's rear, while Jahān Shāh went against his flank. Rafi'u-sh-shān then kept up a cannonade all through the night.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 112, 113; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 58.

him at once. Others objected to fighting in the dark. No clear conclusion was arrived at. Anxious and disheartened, the prince again ascended his elephant and waited wearily for the dawn. When day broke on the 20th *Ṣafar* (28th March, 1712),¹ orders were given to Jahāngīr Qulī *Khān* and Mu'in *Khān* to advance with the artillery and begin the action. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Fath-ullah *Khān*, Mughal, who had received large sums from the prince, deserted his post in the right wing and rode off to Jahāndār Shāh. Shams̄hēr *Khān*, Qurēshī, of Hānsī Hīṣār, Afzal *Khān*, and other of his relations and dependents had been ordered out to reinforce him. On reaching the field, they found he had gone over to the other side, and greeted them with a volley from his swivel guns. They pulled up and took to their bows and their matchlocks, with which they replied for about the space of one hour. Shams̄hēr *Khān* and some of his relations were killed, Afzal *Khān* received two arrow wounds, and his son Mirzā Nakki, two sword cuts.²

The prince's choicest troops, who had been sent to the front first, having deserted, the army of Jahāndār Shāh, under Zabardast *Khān* (grandson of 'Alī Mardān *Khān*), Shākīr *Khān*, and Ḥafīẓ 'Alī *Khān*, advanced against the centre division under Rafī'u-sh-shān's personal command. His troops, largely composed of new levies, turned and fled. The few that stood fast resisted to the best of their power. Ḥatīm *Khān* and Kāzīm *Khān*, Najm Ṣanī,³ received severe wounds, of which they finally died. 'Abdu-r-rahīm *Khān* was wounded, and Nūr *Khān*, Afghān, who had been placed in charge of the women, hastened to his master's aid and after a valorous defence was cut down. Anūp Singh, Narōkah, and eleven of his relations were cut to pieces in front of the prince's elephant. Finally Rafī'u-sh-shān, followed by 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, his teacher, jumped from his elephant, and rushing sword in hand upon the foe, met his death bravely fighting, being shot through the heart. His army was entirely overthrown; tents, mules, horses, camels, goods of every kind were plundered. The prince's body, accompanied by his three sons and the litters of his wives, was carried off to Jahāndār Shāh. For three days the latter allowed the bodies of his brothers and his nephew to lie exposed on the sands, and on the fourth day only gave orders for their interment. The three biers were despatched with that of Bahādur Shāh to Dihli for interment.

¹ The 21st *Ṣafar* in Mīrzā Muḥammad, p. 135; Valentyn, 294, gives the 29th March (= 21st *Ṣafar*); Yahyā *Khān*, 118 *a*, has the 20th but gives the year 1123 H. which should be 1124 H.

² Kāmwar *Khān*, 113; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 60; Yahyā *Khān*, 118 *a*.

³ *i.e.*, a descendant of Mīrzā Yār Aḥmad, surnamed Najm Ṣanī, wazīr of Ismā'il I, Ṣafawī, King of Persia. He died in Ramazān 918 H. (November 1512), Beale, 290.

CHAPTER III.

Jahāndār Shāh.

1. NEW APPOINTMENTS.

All his rivals having been removed, Jahāndār Shāh proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation as sovereign of Hindūstān. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside Lāhor, and on the 21st Šafar 1124 H. (29th March, 1712), the day after the defeat of Rafi'ū-sh-shān, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahāndār Shāh was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abu-l-fath, Muḥammad Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh.¹

The usual re-distribution of the great offices of the State followed the coronation.² Asad Khān remained, as during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, *wakīl-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. His son, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Naṣrat Jang, became chief minister, with the rank of 8,000 *zāt* and a gift of a large sum of money. 'Alī Murād, Kōkaltāsh Khān, who had been long in Jahāndār Shāh's service, was given the title of Khān Jahān, and appointed to be first *Bakhshī*. The office of *Dīwān* of the *Tan*, or assigned land revenue, was conferred on Ikhlas Khān in addition to his former office of *Darōghah* of the 'Arz *Mukarrar*; while Sabhā Cand, secretary to Zū-l-fiqār Khān was made a Rajah and entrusted with the post of *Dīwān* of the public revenues or *Khālīshah-i-Sharīfah*. Hidāyat-ullah Khān (known as Wazārat Khān in the last year of Bahādur Shāh) was created Sa'd-ullah Khān and made *Khānsāmān* or Lord High Steward. Saiyad Rāji Muḥammad Khān, a Gardēzi of Mānikpur, ṣubāh Allāhābād, who had acquired great credit by blowing up Jahān Shāh's powder magazines, became *Mir-ādash*, or commander of artillery. Khwājah Husain, who had married the sister of Kōkaltāsh Khān's wife, was made Khān Daurān, and 2nd *Bakhshī*; while Muḥammad Māh, Zafar Khān, brother of the said Kōkaltāsh Khān, became A'zam Khān with the governorship of Agrah. Luṭfullah Khān, Šādiq, Pānīpatī, who had been one of Jahān Shāh's chief advisers, but early deserted him and obtained pardon by a large bribe (said to have been thirty lakhs of rupees), was now made *Dīwān* to the new Emperor's eldest son, A'zzu-d-dīn. 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāshmirī, was sent off to the ṣubāh of Kashmīr, which he already held, and Zabardast Khān (with the new title of 'Alī Mardān Khān) was appointed to Lāhōr.³

Note A.

I give here the new appointments as they appear in the Dutch diary (Valentyu, IV, 295), after amending and modernizing the spelling

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 68.² See also Note A, at the end of this section.³ Wārid, 79; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 63; Kāmwar Khān, 117; and B. M., No. 1690.

(a somewhat difficult task). I have added further information from other sources. Of the men marked thus* there are excellent portraits in the Dutch work.

* 1. Asad Khān, *Wakīl* (B. M. 1690, rank 15,000, Yahyā Khān, 118 a, 12,000, no higher than 7,000 having been given before to any noble.)

* 2. Zū-l-fiqar Khān, *Wazīr* (B. M. 1690, rank, 12,000, Yahyā Kh., 8,000).

* 3. Khān Jahān, 1st *Bakhshī*, 8,000, 8,000 horse (B. M. 1690, 9,000, Yahyā K., 7,000).

* 4. Khān Daurān, Bahādur, 2nd *Bakhshī*, 6,000, 5,000 horse (Yahyā Khān, 118 b, 5,000).

* 5. Murtaẓā Khān, Bahādur, 3rd *Bakhshī*, 5,000, 5,000 horse.

* 6. Khwājah Ḥusain Khān, 4th *Bakhshī*, 4,000, 4,000 horse.

* 7. 'Souraat' Khān, Darōghah of [the Tōpkhānah, 4,000, 3,000, horse. (This is Raẓā Qulī, Shujā'at Khān, see Yahyā Khān, 118 b, according to whom, 119 a, 'Rājī 'Alī Khān, Pūrbiyah, was made 7,000 and Darōghah of the *Aḥshām* (heavy or garrison?) artillery, for which he had no qualifications.)

* 8. Bahrahmand Khān, Master of the Horse, 1st Master of Ceremonies (*Mīr Tozak* ?), 4,000, 3,000 horse.

* 9. Sa'dullah Khān 'Ma'teked,' Comptroller of Household (*i.e.* *Khānsāmān*), 5,000, 4,000 horse. (This is Hidāyat-ullah Khān, afterwards Wazārat Khān, acting Wazīr in the last year of Bahādur Shāh. He was the son of 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāshmirī. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 170, also applies to him this epithet *Mu'taqad*, given him by the Dutch).

* 10. Safar Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Fil-khānah*, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

11. Ḥaẓrat Qulī Khān, *Dārōghah-i-iṣṭabal*, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

12. Ikhḷāṣ Khān, Public Petitioner or Intercessor (*i.e.*, 'Arẓ-i-Makarrar), to whom all requests are addressed, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

13. Rājah Sabha Cand, *Dīwān*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

14. Jahāndār Qulī Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Khila't-khānah*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

15. Sarbarāh Khān, Sheriff-General (*Kōṭwāl*) 3,000, 2,000 horse (plus *Dārōghah-i-Kacahrī*, vice Ihtimām Khān, B. M. 1690).

16. Naubat Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Naqūr-khānah*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

17. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, *Sadr*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

18. Shari'yat Khān, *Qāẓīu-l-quṣāt*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

19. Khādim Bēg Khān, *Dīwān* to Master of the Horse.

20. Jahān Whēlo, Captain of the Europeans, 2,500, 500 horse.

* 21. Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī, *sarkhāil* (steward?) of the emperor's mother.

2. EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS.

The troops of the deceased princes, on being refused further employment, dispersed in all directions, some thousands of them marching eastwards to Bahār and Bengal under Mir Ishāq,¹ (son of Amīr Khān deceased), Khawājah Muẓaffar, Khawājah Fakhrū-d-dīn, Khawājah Luṭfullah and others. But all of the defeated party were not so lucky as to be thought beneath notice. Mahābat Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, the late Wazīr, Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, 'Ālamgīrī, Sarafrāz Khān, Bahādur Shāhi, Raḥman Yār Khān, Ihtimām Khān, Amīnu-d-dīn Khān, Sambhālī, and some others, were sent to Dihlī as prisoners and their property confiscated.²

Some of the prisoners did not even escape with their lives. Rustam Dil Khān, Mukhlīṣ Khān, and Jānī Khān, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahān Shāh, were ordered out for execution. Jānī Khān was spared on the intercession of prince A'zzu-d-dīn. It seems that when that prince was a prisoner in the hands of the above-named men, as already related, word came to them that Jahān Shāh was dead. Rustam Dil Khān exclaimed 'What was fated to be has happened; and what is to be will without fail come to pass! Let us slay 'Izzu-d-dīn and avenge the blood of Jahān Shāh.' Jānī Khān objected that such an act would be useless, and it would be better for them to take steps for their own safety. Accordingly the prince was released, and he now repaid the kindness then done to him. On the other hand, Rustam Dil Khān's offences were many. He had urged Jahān Shāh to seize and kill Zū-l-fiqār Khān; he had used abusive language to Jahāndār Shāh in the battle field and made every effort to take his life; worst of all, when retreating from the field, he had overtaken Lāl Kuṇwar, then fleeing for safety to Lāhōr, and had swept her and her retinue roughly out of his path. If Zabardast Khān had not come to her aid, there is no knowing to what indignities Lāl Kuṇwar might not have been exposed, for Rustam Dil Khān was about to undo the tassel of pearls hanging from the sash (*izār-band*) of her trousers, when she was rescued from his hands.

What crime Mukhlīṣ Khān had committed is not so clear. Some say that he was an object of dislike to Kōkaltāsh Khān, and it is possible that Zū-l-fiqār Khān may have borne him a grudge for the advice given to Jahān Khān to seize that noble. The traitor Luṭfullah Khān Mughal, who deserted Rafī'u-sh-shān in the battle field, is also supposed to have persuaded Jahāndār Shāh that his brothers

¹ Mir Ishāq is the man afterwards famous as Amīr Khān, 'Umdatul-mulk, assassinated the 23rd Zū-l-ḥajj 1159 H. (5th January, 1747), *Ma'aṣiru-l-umarā*, II, 839.

² See Note B, at the end of this section.

would never have resisted him, if it had not been for the urgency of Rustam Dil Khān and Mukhlis Khān. The Dutch diary, which is coloured by a desire to favour Jahāndār Shāh, accuses both men of having entered the late emperor's harem, where they plundered and violated some of the women.¹

Rustam Dil Khān bore out to the last his character for reckless bravery. When he was brought before Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the Wazir smiled and said to him; 'In spite of all your cleverness, what dirt have you not ended in eating!' Rustam Dil Khān laughed and retorted: 'You and I ate the same dirt out of the same tray, it agreed with you and not with me.' Zū-l-fiqār Khān had no answer to give, but hung down his head. As the executioner cut off one limb after another, Rustam Dil Khān continued to comment freely on Jahāndār Shāh, Zū-l-fiqār Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān, and even to the end he never flinched. As soon as breath had left the body, his mangled limbs and the headless trunk of Mukhlis Khān were hung to the wayside trees. The confiscated property of Rustam Dil Khān, said to have amounted in value to twelve lakhs of Rupees, was granted to 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān.²

Note B.

The following list of the prisoners sent to Dihli is given in Valentyn, IV, 294. (1) Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, Bahādur, (2) Mahābat Khān, Bahādur, (3) Khān Zamān Khān, Bahādur, (4) Raḥman Yār Khān, (5) Iḥtimām (Utman) Khān, (6) Raḥim-ullah Khān, (7) Jamāl-ullah Khān, (8) Faṭḥ Maqṣūd Khān, (9) Faṭḥ Nuṣrat Khān, (10) Saif-ullah Khān, (11) Sarafrāz (Serafraan) Khān, (12) Bāryāb Khān, (13) Āqā Beg Khān, (14) Rāe Kēsri Singh, (15) Rāe Bhagwatī, (16) 'Soer' (?) Khān, (17) 'Aṭā-ullah Khān, (18) Rāe Faṭḥ Cand, (19) Manōhar Khān, (20) Aṣālat Khān, (21) Naṣrat Khān, (22) Faqīr-ullah Khān, (23)

¹ Wārīd, 83; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 62; Yahyā Khān, 118 b (as to Jānī Khān); *Seir Mutaqherin*, I, 33; Briggs, 42; Valentyn, IV, 294. Anon. Fragment B. M. Or. 3613, fol. 16a. To those executed Khūshhāl Cand, 388 a, adds the name of Sazāwār Khān, *dārōghah* of the *Dāgh* and *Tashhīhah*. Rustam Dil Khān's previous career has been referred to in the chapter on Bahādur Shāh. Jānī Khān was Khawājah Darvēsh, son of Jānī Khān, rank 5000; he was killed in the battle of Āgrah, along with 'Ālī Murād, Kōkaltāsh Khān, on the 13th Zū-l-ḥajj 1124 (10th January, 1713). Mukhlis Khān is described by Yahyā Khān, 114 a, as Mut'amad Khān, son of Qubād Khān, *Khuld-makānī*. i.e., of 'Ālamgīr's reign, and he says he received the title of Mukhlis Khān after Jājan (1119 H. 1707). This seems a mistake, as the said Mut'amad Khān, (Rustam Bēg) died in 1117 H., 1705. Mukhlis Khān (cousin of Mīrzā Muḥammad, the historian) was really Mhd. Bēg, son of Aḥmad Bēg, and nephew of Qabādah Bēg, Diyānat Khān (d. Ramaẓān 1083 H., Dec. 1672,) see *Tārīkh-i-muḥammadī*, year 1124 H.

² Wārīd, 85, 86; Nuru-d-dīn, 71, 72.

Mumin Khān, (24) ‘Achsem’ (A‘zam?) Khān, perhaps this is Irādat Khān, Wāziḥ, to whom ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān had given this title, (25) Saif Khān. The following men were dismissed from office and their goods confiscated: Jānī Khān, ‘Astni’ (?) Khān, Rāe Bhēla Mall, Ḥakimu-l-Mulk, Rāe Rāyān, Yasīn Khān, ‘Mobesser’ Khān, ‘Abdu-r-raḥman Khān, Shēr Afgan Khān.

3. ‘ABDU-Ṣ-ṢAMAD Khān, SKETCH OF HIS CAREER.

The history of ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, who in the reign of Farrukh-ṣīyar assumed a more leading position, is a striking instance of the vicissitudes to which such soldiers of fortune were subject. He was a native of Samarqand, descended from the Naqshbandī saint ‘Abdullah Aḥrār,¹ and had served long in the Dakhin during ‘Ālamgīr’s reign without attracting any great notice. In Bahādur Shāh’s reign he came more to the front and strengthened his position by forming a marriage connection with the powerful Mughal family represented by Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn. One day, towards the end of Bahādur Shāh’s reign, ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān pressed his claims on prince ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān, who was then all-powerful. The prince disliked the man and gave an evasive answer. ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān lost his temper and used disrespectful language. On a complaint to Bahādur Shāh, ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was ejected from the imperial camp and ordered to start on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the one horse he himself rode, he left the camp with his wife and family and halted at a little distance, hoping to negotiate a loan to pay his travelling expenses. These efforts had met with little success, when suddenly Bahādur Shāh passed away and the contest for the throne began. Zū-l-fiqār Khān knew that ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was a brave soldier, and his recent quarrel with ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān made him a still more fitting instrument for the coming struggle. He was therefore sent for and given the rank of 7000 and placed in command of Jahāndār Shāh’s vanguard. From this time his fortunes were made.²

¹ Khwājah Nāsiru-d-dīn ‘Abdullah, son of Maḥmūd, son of Shahābu-d-dīn, Aḥrār, a descendent of Khwājah Muḥammad Bāqī of Baghdād. At first he lived in Shāsh (now Tāshkand). His mother was a descendent of Shēkh ‘Umr of Bāghistān, which is a village belonging to Tāshkand. Shēkh ‘Umr is descended in the 16th generation from ‘Abdullah, son of ‘Umr, son of Alkhītāb Khālīfah Ṣānī. Aḥrār left Tāshkand for Samarqand and Bukhārā, and dying on the 29th Rabī‘ I, 895 H. (20th Feb. 1490), aged 89, was buried at Samarqand. *Khazīnatu-l-asfīyah*, I, 582–585, Beale, 5 (‘Abdullah) and 275, where he spells ‘Ubīdullah, and gives the date as Rabī‘ II, 896 H. (Feb. 1491).

² Wārid, 124 a.

4. DEATH OF PRINCE MUḤAMMAD KARĪM.

The hiding place of Muḥammad Karīm, eldest son of ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, was soon discovered. After a short time, his resources being exhausted, he was forced to make over a valuable jewel to the poor weaver in whose house he was hidden, with orders to pawn it and buy food. The value of the jewel led to the man being questioned, and in the end he disclosed the secret. The news reached Hidāyat Kēsh, a converted Hindu who was *wāqī‘ah-nigār-i-kull*, or head of the central news-office. This man made Muḥammad Karīm a prisoner and produced him before Jahāndār Shāh, by whom he was transferred to Zū-l-fiqār Khān. He was executed two days afterwards at that noble’s quarters. They say that the wretched prince asked with tears for a little bread and water, having been three days without food. No attention was paid to his request. After his head had been severed from his body, the corpse was buried at the mausoleum of the emperor Jahāngīr, which is on the further or right bank of the Rāvi.¹

5. THE COURT MOVES TO DIHLĪ—DESPATCH OF A‘ZZU-D-DĪN TO ĀGRAH.

The court now started from Lāhōr on its return to Dihlī. Jahāndār Shāh left the banks of the Rāvi on the 25th Rabi‘ I, 1124 H. (May 1st, 1712); he entered Dihlī on the 18th Jamādī I, (June 22nd, 1712).² During the march a rumour was heard that Farrukhsiyar, the second son of the late ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, had left Bengal and arrived at Paṭnah with the intention of contesting the new emperor’s right to the throne. Jahāndār Shāh treated the idea as ridiculous, saying that any one of the *faujdhars* would be sufficient to defeat such a feeble foe. Still, as a precaution, the eldest prince, A‘zzu-d-dīn, was placed at the head of some troops and sent to Āgrah, there to watch the course of events. A large sum of money, said to be nine *krōrs* of rupees, was disbursed to him on the 15th Jumādī II (19th July 1712), for this purpose. His force is estimated by Khāfi Khān at 50,000 men. As he was young and inexperienced, and had shown not only signs of discontent at his father’s conduct, but also dislike of Lāl Kuṃwar,

¹ Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 52, 62; Wārid, 63, 64; Kāmwar Khān, 114; Khāfi Khān, II, 688. The Dutch account, Valentyn, IV, 294, here as elsewhere favourable to Jahāndār Shāh, asserts that the young prince was at first pardoned, but soon afterwards executed on the complaint of Kōkaltāsh Khān ‘to whom he had addressed foul language, and on account of his other debaucheries.’ Valentyn gives a portrait of him.

² Valentyn, 297, says the march began on the 10th May, which corresponds with the 4th Rabi‘, II. B. M. No. 1690 fol. 160 *a*, states that they left Lāhōr city on the 26th Rabi‘, I. Khāfi Khān, II, 718, and B. M. 1690, fol. 160 *a*, say the entry into Dihlī took place on the 17th Jamādī I.

he was not trusted with the real command. He was placed under the tutelage of two men (1) Khwājah Ḥusain, Khān Daurān, brother-in-law of Kōkaltāsh Khān,¹ and (2) Luṭfullab Khān, Ṣādiq, the prince's own *diwān*. These appointments were made in opposition to the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān taking the whole responsibility. Neither of the men had any experience of war, Khān Daurān had never been in a battle, and as the event proved, no more incompetent leaders could have been selected. As has been wisely said, Jahāndār Shāh forgot the maxim, 'Place no man at the head of an army, unless he has been in many a battle.'²

It was while the court was at Sarāe Daurāhah, between Lāhōr and Sihrind, on its progress towards Dihlī, that Mirzā Rafī', Sarbuland Khān, brother-in-law of the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān, presented himself with five or six thousand men. 'Azīmu-sh-shān had procured for him the appointment of *faujdar* at Karrah Mānikpur in the Allahābād province. But forgetting all his obligations, as soon as he heard the result of the late struggle, instead of waiting to assist his patron's son, Farrukh-sīyar, he collected all the revenue that he could, some ten to twelve lakhs of rupees, and started for the camp of Jahāndār Shāh. There, through the intervention of Ni'mat Khān, a brother of Lāl Kuṇwar, and that of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, he received the governorship of Aḥmadābād Gujarāt, without the *wazīr*, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, having been consulted.³

6. JAHĀNDAR SHĀH'S LIFE AT DIHLĪ.

The next five months from July to December, until the emperor marched from Dihlī towards Āgrah, were given up to dissipation. As the proverb says 'Mad already, he has now taken to eating hemp.'⁴ Dehli for a time fell under the dominion of the Lord of Misrule. Grand illuminations took place three times in every month. In consequence of the extensive illuminations, so much oil was used that it rose to be half a *sīr* weight to the rupee; then, all the oil being expended, they had recourse to clarified butter until it, too, ceased to be procurable. Grain also grew very dear; not more than seven or eight *sīrs* weight being procurable for a rupee. One day some porters came from the other side of the Jamnah with head loads of grain. Lāl

¹ The printed text of Khāfī Khān, II, 697, calls him the نبيره *nabīrah* (grand-son), of Kōkaltāsh Khān, probably a misprint for يزنه *yaznah*, (brother-in-law.)

² *Sipāh rū ma-kun pesh-rū juz kasē, Kih dar janghā būdah bāshad basē. Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93; *Ijād*, 15; *Mirzā Mhd.* 141; Khāfī Khān, II, 697, 700, 712, 715; *Valentyn*, IV, 299.

³ Khāfī Khān, II, 715; *Ijād*, 49 a.

⁴ *Diwānah būd*; *bangē khūrad*, *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93.

Kuṇwar, who was looking out of the latticed window in the *Ṣaman Burj* (or bastion) of the palace, sent for one of these men and asked him 'What have you given for this grain?' He replied 'Five or six rupees.' She exclaimed, 'Praise be to God! things are still so cheap! Please the Lord Most High, I will bring the rate to five or six *sīrs* for that amount of money.' From this may be judged what ideas prevailed in other State affairs. Another day *Jahāndār Shāh* and *Lāl Kuṇwar* were on the roof of the palace, watching what was going on upon the river. A boat full of men crossed over. The favourite said 'I have never seen a boat-load of men go down.' A hint was enough. Boatmen were ordered out with a boat-load of passengers, and the favourite's wish to see the wretched drowning people struggling in the water was at once gratified.¹

During these months the fiddlers and drummers, who were *Lāl Kuṇwar's* brothers and relations, swaggered through the streets, committing every sort of outrage. *Lāl Kuṇwar* was dignified with the title of *Imtiyāz Maḥal*, Chosen of the Palace, and immense treasures, the spoils from '*Azimu-sh-shān's* and *Jahān Shāh's* camps, were made over to her. Her whole family was ennobled, father, brothers, and brothers-in-law. Her middle brother was the most oppressive of all to the people. All the brothers were granted the *naubat*, or the right to play music at stated intervals, and the use of kettle-drums when on the march. Their titles were *Ni'mat Khān*, *Nāmdār Khān*, and *Khānahzād Khān*. Some of the finest confiscated mansions in the city were given to them, and as *Kāmwar Khān* says, 'the owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.'²

To this period belongs the story of *Ni'mat Khān Kalāwant's*³ appointment to the *ṣubāh* of *Multān*. The emperor signified his pleasure to the *wazīr*, but there was an unaccountable delay in the issue of the usual patent. The nominee at length presented himself to *Zū-l-fiqār Khān* and made enquiry. The *wazīr* replied, with all gravity, that it was a well-known rule of every public office to issue no patent without a fee in cash. As he wished to be obliging, he would not ask for cash, but since he had need of them, would take instead one thousand guitars.⁴ The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply,

¹ *Khūshhāl Cand*, 390 b. As to the drowning, *Kām Rāj*, *Ibratnāmāh*, 46 b, says that *Zū-l-fiqār Khān* forbade it. The same story is told of *Faḥl 'Alī Khān*, '*āmīl of Ghāzīpur*, Oldham, I, 93.

² *Kāmwar Khān*, 119; *Yahyā Khān*, 119 a.

³ *Kalāwant*—These are the male members of the professional singer class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.

⁴ *Tanbūr*. a long-necked guitar, see figure on plate opposite p. 114 of *Ghuncāh-i-Rāj*, (Naval Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1863).

worked his hardest and in a week sent as many as two hundred guitars to Zū-l-fiqār Khān. The wazīr insisted upon delivery of the full number. Ni'mat Khān complained to his Majesty of the excessive bribe demanded from him. Jahāndār Shāh, when next he saw the wazīr, asked him the reason of collecting so many guitars. The answer was that when musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play on the guitar. This remonstrance induced Jahāndār Shāh to cancel the appointment.¹

Among other wild freaks, an order was given to cut down all the lofty trees from the palace to the hunting preserve called Jahān-numā. Khushhāl Cand, a rare instance of an Indian taking notice of the beauty of natural objects, laments over the wanton destruction of the 'spreading trees, with heads reaching the sky, the refuge and solace of the weary, foot-sore, traveller, the abode of far-flying and sweet-singing birds. Throughout Dihli and its environs it was for the trees like the coming of Judgment Day; and the trees on the two banks of the Faiẓ canal, planted by Emperors of high emprise, ceasing to raise their heads to Heaven, received wounds in the garment of their existence, and fell into the dust of degradation and disgrace.'²

Gifts were showered upon Lāl Kuṇwar and her friends. It is said that an annual allowance of two *krors* of rupees (about £ 2,000,000 sterling) was made for her household expenses, exclusive of clothes and jewels. She was allowed to display the imperial umbrella and to march, with drums beating, as if she had been the emperor in person. One writer says the days of Nūr Jahān Begam were revived for her; that coins were issued in her name as they had been in that of Jahāngīr's favourite wife. Such coins of Lāl Kuṇwar, if ever issued, have not come down to us. Low persons, such as Zuharah, a woman who kept a vegetable stall, were promoted to high rank and received valuable jāgīrs. There are many stories of the insolent conduct of these low-born favourites. One day Cin Qilic Khān (afterwards Nizāmu-l-Mulk), then living at Dihli without employment, was passing in his pālki through a narrow street, when he was met by Zuharah on an elephant, followed by a long train of servants. The Khān's small retinue was hustled out of the way by the woman's followers, and as she passed she cried out, 'Is that the blind man's son?'³ By the Khān's orders his men pulled her rudely from her elephant. Complaint was made to the emperor through Lāl Kuṇwar, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān received orders to punish the Nawāb.

¹ Wārid, 80; Khushhāl Cand, 389 b. Valentyn, 299, places the event on the 25th July (= 19th Jamādī II) and his details differ slightly.

² Khushhāl Cand, 389 b.

³ His father, Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān, Fīrūz Jang, although in active military employ was blind during the last twenty-three years of his life (*Ma'āşiru-l-umarā* II, 875).

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who had been previously spoken to by Cīn Qīlic Khān, objected to the order as likely to cause wide-spread disaffection among the nobles. The matter then dropped.¹

Lāl Kuṇwar herself was the cause of an estrangement between the emperor and his aunt, Zīnatu-n-nissā Bēgam, daughter of 'Ālamgīr. This princess had refused to visit or acknowledge the new favourite, who in her rage loaded the royal lady with the most opprobrious epithets. At his mistress' instigation the Emperor ceased to visit his aunt, and refused her invitation to an entertainment, because Lāl Kuṇwar had not been asked to it. Again, as she did not like the Emperor's two younger sons, A'zzu-d-Daulah and Mu'izzu-d-Daulah, their father refused to see them and sent them to prison.²

Jahāndār Shāh and his concubine, in defiance of etiquette, often visited the markets together, seated in a bullock carriage, making at the shops such purchases as took their fancy. One night after a day spent in debauchery and in visits to various gardens round the city, they entered the house of a spirit-seller, a friend of Lāl Kuṇwar. There they drank till they were intoxicated. On their leaving, the woman owning the shop was rewarded with a sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During the journey home they both fell asleep, and, on reaching the palace, Lāl Kuṇwar was taken out by her women and carried to her room. The driver of the *rath*,³ who had also shared in the carouse, made no inspection of it and left it at the stable. The emperor's absence began to cause alarm to the officers of the palace. He was not to be found in Lāl Kuṇwar's apartments, and on her direction the *rath* was examined. There the Emperor was found fast asleep, nearly two miles from the palace. Khūshhāl Cand quotes, as applying to Jahāndār Shāh when he woke and knew not where he was, the lines:—A drunk man is so happy that at the Resurrection he asks 'Who am I, who are you, and what place is this?'⁴

Another instance of utter abandonment of decorum was the fact that acting on the popular belief, Jahāndār Shāh bathed every Sunday in company with Lāl Kuṇwar, both naked as they were born, in the tank at the shrine of Shēkh Nasīru-d-dīn, Audhī, commonly called the Cirāgh-i-Dihli (or Lamp of Dihli), in the hope that his saintly intercession might bless them with offspring. It is necessary for attaining this

¹ Irādāt Khān in J. Scott, II, part IV, 81, and *Sairu-l-mutākhharīn* (Briggs, 48).

² J. Scott II, part IV, 83; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.

³ *Rath*, a four-wheeled carriage, with canopy, drawn by two oxen, and much used in Upper India.

⁴ *Mast ān cunān khūsh ast kih gōyad bar dar-i-hashar, 'Man kistam, shumā cah kasān-ēd ō in cah jā-st?'*

object to bathe at this place naked every Sunday for forty weeks.¹ We are also told of what he did once on a visit to the shrine of Qutbu-d-din. Near it is an eminence ending in a rock, with smooth, slippery face, sloping down to the plain; and here the street boys of Dihli amused themselves by climbing the rock and rolling over and over down the polished surface to the ground. Seeing them at this game, Jahāndār Shāh must needs do the same! It should be remembered that he was at this time, not a youth, but a man over fifty years of age.²

Nightly the low musicians gathered at the palace to drink in the emperor's company. When these men became drunk they would kick and cuff Jahāndār Shāh and shout in a drunken way. Jahāndār Shāh, in spite of his long experience of the world, and all the training he had received from his grandfather and father, bore with these insults for fear of offending Lāl Kuṇwar.³ As for things forbidden by the Law, there was no longer any restraint; and the habits of the Court becoming known, all respect for, or fear of, the sovereign ceased. When the emperor went abroad to hunt or for recreation, not a single noble attended, nor was he followed by any armed force.⁴

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the vazir, imitated his master's example and devolved his duties on a favourite Hindū subordinate, Sabhā Cand, a Khatri, lately made a Rajah, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's former liberality was changed into niggardliness, he hindered men in their promotion instead of helping them, and the falsity of his promises and assurances became a byword. Partisans as well as opponents were dissatisfied with him. In short, as the Eastern saying runs, 'As the king, so the vazir,' or as we English say, 'Like master, like man.'⁵

To add to the other sources of weakness and disorder, a feud arose

¹ Shēkh Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Andhī, Cirāgh-i-Dihlī, (a Cishtī), grandson of 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, Yazdī. His father Yahyā, a Ḥusainī Sayyad, was born at Lāhōr. The Shēkh was born in Audh, and died 18th Ramaṣān 757 H. (14th Sept. 1356). though some say the 13th (9th Sept) is correct. Another authority has 752 H. (1351-2). The shrine lies about 7 miles south of new Dihlī (Shāhjahānābād), *Khazīnatu-l-aṣṣuyāh*, I, 353.

² Khūshhāl Cand, 390 a; Irādāt Khān in J. Scott, II, part IV, 82, 83. Also as to the bathing see Kāmwar Khān, 120, and Kām Rāj 'Ibratnāmāh, 46 b. Muḥammad Qāsim, Aurangābādī, in *Aḥwāl-ul-khawāqīn*, fol. 46 b, has another version of the Qutb story, where a rocking stone near the shrine is rocked.

³ This story is also in the Dutch diary, where it is assigned to the 17th July 1712, Valentyn, IV, 298.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 120.

⁵ *Wazir cunān, Shahryār cunān*, Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, II, 93; Irādāt Khān (J. Scott, II, part IV, 83).

between Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the chief minister, and ‘Ali Murād, Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, foster-brother of the emperor and now *Amīru-l-Umarū*, or second minister. For forty years, ever since they were children together, Jahāndār Shāh had been promising ‘Ali Murād that when he succeeded to the throne he, his foster-brother, should be his *vazīr*. Khān Jahān, and more especially his female relations, resented his supersession by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, although under the circumstances of the case, such supersession was obviously unavoidable. In their jealousy of each other, whatever was proposed by the one was opposed by the other. Contrary to the *vazīr*’s advice, Khān Daurān, Khān Jahān’s brother-in-law, was sent in command of the troops against Farrukhsīyar. In the same way, Sarbuland Khān was presented through Khān Jahān and appointed to a governorship, acts which lay solely within the competence of the chief minister. It was while the central government at Dihlī was in this disorganized condition that a claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Muḥammad Farrukhsīyar, the second but eldest surviving son of the late ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, and to his story we must now turn our attention.¹

7. MUḤAMMAD FARRUKHSIYAR, HIS EARLY HISTORY, AND ARRIVAL AT PATNAH ‘AZĪMĀBĀD.

Muḥammad Farrukhsīyar, the second son of ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, was born at Aurangābād in the Dakhin, on the 19th Ramaẓān 1094 H.² (11th Sept. 1683); and was now in his thirty-first (lunar) year. In his infancy he was sent to Dihlī, but brought back to the Dakhin in 1105 H. (Sept. 1693—Augst. 1694), in his tenth year; and after three years spent with his great-grandfather, ‘Ālamgīr, he accompanied his father, ‘Azīmu-sh-shān first to Āgrah and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, ‘Ālamgīr recalled his grandson, ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, from Bengal, giving him orders to leave his eldest son, Muḥammad Karīm, in charge of Bahār and his second son, Farrukhsīyar, in Bengal. The young prince passed some years at Dhākkah (Dacca), then the capital of the Bengal province; but in the reign of Bahādūr Shāh (1707–1712), he moved to Murshidābād, where he occupied the palace in Lāl Bāgh. He subsequently moved to Rāj Maḥal, higher up and on the other side of the Ganges. ‘Azīmu-sh-shān, anticipating a struggle for the throne at an early date, called on Farrukhsīyar to return to court.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 119 a, says the news of Farrukhsīyar’s advance was received in Shawwāl (31st Oct.—28th Novr. 1712). Other accounts say ‘about the end of the rainy season,’ i. e. 1st—15th October.

² For this date see the analysis of the conflicting evidence at the end of Farrukhsīyar’s reign.

Bengal had been made over to 'Izzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Ālam (son of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh, 'Ālamgīrī). Farrukhsīyar was on the march and not far from 'Azīmābād Paṭnah, when on the 7th Ṣafar 1124 H. (15th March 1712) he heard of Bahādūr Shāh's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession and caused coin to be stamped and the public prayer or Khuṭbah to be read in his name. He decided to march no further. Some say that astrologers, on whom he placed great reliance, had prophesied his accession to the throne at Paṭnah and advised him not to leave it until that happy event had occurred. On the 29th Ṣafar (6th April 1712) he heard of his father's defeat and death. For a little time the prince contemplated suicide, but his friends dissuaded him, some counselling a retreat upon Bengal, others an advance into the Dakhin. One rumour which reached Dihli was that Farrukhsīyar intended to leave Bengal and take refuge in flight by way of the sea. In the end his mother intervened and incited him to try the issue of a contest in the field.¹ Thereupon, with such state as he could command, he performed the ceremonies of enthronement in the bāgh or garden known as Afzal Khān's, and proclaimed his succession to the empire, issuing coin and causing the Khuṭbah to be read in his own name.²

No rasher enterprize was ever entered upon. Farrukhsīyar had been no favourite with his father and grandfather, and had been without authority or wealth during their life-time. It was only with reluctance that he had decided to obey his father's order to come to court. He arrived at Paṭnah with no more than four hundred followers,

¹ If he launched his boat on stormy waters it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days? Why not run the risk?

² *Ijād*, 14 a; 39 b, 40 a, Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 382; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 94; Khāfi Khān, II, 707, 708; Kāmwar Khān, entry of 27th Rabī' I, 1123 H.; Wārid, 136 b; Yahyā Khān, 119 a. I have heard of a curious Hindī poem on Farrukhsīyar's advance from Paṭnah and victory over Jahāndār Shāh. It is by one Sri Dhar (alias Murli Dhar), kabī, of Allahābād, and I hope hereafter to obtain a full copy.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth couplets are:—

4. *Ciṭi calī mahājānī, bhai ēkāek cāh,*
Chāndī deheṇ swar-lōk kō gaē Bahādūr Shāh;
5. *Sunī khabar ēkbārgī Farrukhsīyar udār,*
Rākhī phauj, ēkalgārhiṇ, caliyē yahai biēār
6. *Baksī Ā'jam Khān kō kinho hukum bolāi,*
Phauj rūkhiyē jāe ab, jētī rākhī jāi.

A Persian chronogram for Farrukhsīyar's accession is Shāh Farrukhsīyar, *kih afsar-i-ū Āftāb-i-sipīhr-i-mamlakat ast, Guft Hātīf kih sāl-i-salṭanat-ash 'Āftāb-i-kamāl-i-salṭanat ast (1124 H.).*

and there pitched his camp near the garden of Jafar Khān at the eastern extremity of the city.¹ At first, when he came forward to claim the throne, none of the many nobles on whom 'Azīmu-sh-shān had heaped so many favours would espouse his cause. Most of them declared themselves on the side of Jahāndār Shāh. Murshid Quli Khān, diwān of Bengal, refused to move; nor was this so much to be wondered at, for great jealousy had existed between him and 'Azīmu-sh-shān from the first appointment of the latter to Bengal. An attempt was made by Farrukhsiyar to supersede Murshid Quli Khān by the despatch from Paṭnah of a new shūbahdār, Rashid Khān, whose fate will be recounted when we come to the history of the provinces in Farrukhsiyar's reign.²

We have already mentioned the defection of Sarbuland Khān. He had risen to position through his connection by marriage with 'Azīmu-sh-shān. On his falling under Bahādur Shāh's displeasure, 'Azīmu-sh-shān gave him refuge and made over to him Sahēndah (in Bundēl-khand) and other parganahs of the prince's jāgīr, as a means of support. The understanding between them was that if any great crisis arose, he should march at the head of three or four thousand men with a large amount of treasure that had been confided to his care. Sarbuland Khān acted in direct opposition to all his promises.³ Another noble who was under equal obligations to the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān was Khān Jahān, Bahādur, (otherwise 'Izzu-d-Daulah, Khān 'Ālam), son of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh, 'Ālamgīrī.⁴ He was a man of the most insufferable pride, who made enemies wherever he went. In the early part of Bahādur Shāh's reign he lived at Dihlī without employment. When that emperor was passing near Dihlī on his return from the Dakhin,

¹ Stewart's "caravan-serae," *Hist. Bengal*, 384, is derived from the *Seir Muta-gharin*, I, 43. But in the text of that work, Calcutta edition, 12, line 11, the words are *dar sarā-pardah-hā manzil gazīd*, where *sarā-pardah* means camp, or a canvas enclosure round tents, and not a *sarāe*, or inn.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 707, 708; Ījād, 47 b, 51 a; Stewart, 384; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 33. 97, 98.

³ His biography is in *M-ul-u*, III, 801. He was born c. 1085 H. (1674), and died 1154 H. (19th Jan., 1742), *T-i-Mḥdi*. In the *Hadīqatu-l-aqālim*, 131, we are told that Shēkh Allahyār, the author's father, tried to persuade Sarbuland Khān that gratitude required him to join Farrukhsiyar. The author mentions a village, *Banī* or *Tapī*, in Kōrah, as the jāgīr of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, which was then in S. B. K's charge. He had been sent as Nāib to Bengal in the 2nd year of B. Shāh. There he quarrelled with Zīā-ullah Khān (son of 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāshmīrī), the diwān, and was recalled. Then in the 3rd year B. S. he was sent to the charge of Kōrah, where 'Azīmu-sh-shān had his jāgīr (B. M. Or. No. 1690).

⁴ His biography is in *M-ul-u*, III, 949, under his former title of Sipahdār Khān. His name was Mḥd. Muḥsin. B. c. 1064 H. (1653-4) d. 1130 H. (Oct. Nov. 1718).

Khān Jahān was sent for to Court. Neither the emperor nor the princes were well disposed towards him. Wherever he turned, no smile greeted him, no brow smoothed its wrinkles. The emperor refused even to read his petitions, owing to the disrespectful language in which they were couched. At length, 'Azīmu-sh-shān had pity on him, and after some exertion, the *ṣūbah* of Orissa was granted to him, with the office of deputy under the prince in Bengal. This man was received in audience by Farrukhsīyar at the town of Sūrajgarh, in *sarkār* Farrukh-ābād (or Munger) of *ṣūbah* Bahār.¹ All honour was done to him. The prince's chief man, Aḥmad Bēg (afterwards Ghāziū-d-dīn Khān Ghālib Jang), was sent to escort him, a rich *khilā't* was conferred on him, his sons, and his chief companions. At the time of his leaving, Khān Jahān made loud promises that he would help. But he took no steps in that direction. Then one Muḥammad Razā, who had been Deputy-Governor in Orissa, before the appointment of Khān Jahān, went off to Akbarnagar (Rāj Maḥal) to visit that noble on the pretence of further negotiation. In the end, on one pretext or another, neither one nor the other appeared again.² 'Alī Aṣghar Khān,³ son of Kār Talab Khān, Anṣārī, who had been made *faujdār* of Itāwah (*ṣūbah* Āgrah), and Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, then *faujdār* of Karrah Mānikpur, *ṣūbah* Allahābād,⁴ showed no eagerness to take up the prince's cause. There remained only the two brothers, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān ('Abdullah Khān) and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Sayyads of Bārhaḥ, who owed to 'Azīmu-sh-shān the governments of Allahābād and Bahār, which they then held.⁵

8. ACCOUNT OF THE BĀRHAH SAYYADS.

The Sayyads of Bārhaḥ claim to be descended from Abū-l-farāḥ, of Wāsiṭ in Mesopotamia. Several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly, Abū-l-farāḥ and his twelve sons came from Wāsiṭ to India, settling at first in four villages near Paṭiālah, in the *sarkār* of Sahrind and *ṣūbah* of Dihli. From these villages the four

¹ Sūrajgarh, a *maḥāl* in *sarkār* Mungēr (*Āin*, II, 155), on the right bank of the Ganges 20 m. W. of Mungēr (Thornton, 929).

² At Dihli on the 27th September 1712 (26th Sha'bān 1124 H.), it was reported that Khān Jahān, Bahādur, and Muṣṭafī Qulī Khān were marching to Paṭnah to reinforce A'zzu-d-dīn against Farrukhsīyar, (Valentyn, IV, 301). This report was quite unfounded.

³ See *M-ul-u*, I, 829-832, under his subsequent title of Khān Zamān B., born c. 1085 H. (1674-5), d. 4th Zū'l-hajj, 1155 H. (29th Jan., 1743), *T-i-Mahdī*.

⁴ For C. R. see *M-ul-u*, II, 328. Dyā Bahādur was killed on 'Azīmu-sh-shān's side at Lāhōr in Ṣafar 1124 H. (March 1712), see *ante* p. 150.

⁵ Ijad, 59 b, 60 a; Khāfī Khān, II, 715.

branches, into which they are divided, derive their names.¹ Then crossing the Jamnah, they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Duāb, half way between Mirāth and Sahāranpur, in a sandy, unproductive piece of country, possibly at that time very sparsely inhabited. The etymology of the name *Bārḥah* is disputed; perhaps it is from the word *bārah* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages.² From the time of Akbar, the men of this clan of Sayyads were famous as military leaders, and by their bravery had acquired a traditional right to lead the vanguard of the Imperial troops. Until the reign of Farrukhsiyar they seem to have been little distinguished outside the profession of arms, and judging from what we know of their descendants in the present age, they probably had little love of learning. Brave, proud, lavish, they always were; and in our day, when their swords have been perforce beaten into pruning hooks, they have succumbed only too completely before the wily money-lender. In Muzaḥfarnagar many is the story current of the 'Sayyad Ṣāhib's' reckless improvidence and ignorance of the commonest rule of business. In the 18th century a *Bārḥah kā aḥmaq*, or Bārḥah blockhead, was a common saying, and there was a rhyme to the effect that all the asses there were Bahādurs, and all the Bahādurs, asses.³

¹ Chat-Banūr is still a large town. Kundlē has a few huts, Tihanpur is a petty hamlet, Jagnēr uninhabited, (Alan Cadell, *Proc. As., Soc. Bengal*, 1871, p. 261). I find Chat and Banūr, two separate places in the N. E. of the Paṭiālāh territory, on sheet No. 47 of the Indian Atlas, the former about 16 m. N. and the latter 12 m. N.N.W. of Ambālāh city.

² There seems to be no town or village in the Sayyads' country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Bārḥah. Sir H. M. Elliot (*Supp. Glossary*, 110) speaks of the town of Bārḥah as one plundered by Ṣafdar Jang in 1748. On a subject so peculiarly his own, it is dangerous to contest any of that writer's statements, but unless I am much mistaken, the place so plundered was really Mārāhrah (now in the Etah district), which lay in the course of Ṣafdar Jang's march from Dihlī to Farrukhābād, and also contains a well-known colony of Sayyads. Elphinstone (4th ed. p. 650) makes the same mistake. The *Sairu-l-mutākhḥarīn*, Calcutta printed text, II, 32; has, however, Mārāhrah plainly enough. The error, no doubt, began with Mustapha, *Seir*, III, 83, who reads "Barr."

³ *Seir Mutaghharīn*, III, 441, note 261;

Bārḥa, nahin to, Barhā :

Gadhā bahādūr, Bahādūr gadhā.

Blochmann, *Āin*, I, 390, 391, Robert J. Leeds, in N. W. Provinces Census Report for 1865 (District Muzaḥfarnagar), Elliot, *Supp. Gloss.*, 50. Blochmann's hope (*Āin*, I, 395, note,) of an exhaustive history of the Bārḥah Sayyads from the pen of one of the clan is never likely to be gratified. Seven or eight years ago I suggested to one of the Jānsāth family, a retired official of some rank, the need for such a work. Of course, he said it should be begun at once, but to this day the only account they can produce of their race is the feeble, incomplete, and inaccurate statement, the *Sayyadu-t-tawārīkh*, prepared in 1864 by Sayyad Rōshan 'Alī Khān, Mirānpurī.

The two Sayyad brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts, men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be.¹ Besides the prestige of Sayyad lineage, of descent from the famous Bārhaḥ branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man who had held in 'Ālamgīr's reign first the *ṣūbahdāri* of Bijāpūr in the Dakhin and then that of Ajmīr, appointments given in that reign either to princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the State. Their father, Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān, known as Sayyad Miyān, had risen in the service of Rūḥu-llah Khān, 'Ālamgīr's *Mīr Bakḥshī*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *manṣab*, attached himself to the eldest prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, (afterwards the emperor Bahādur Shāh).

Hasan 'Alī Khān (afterwards 'Abdullah Khān, Quṭbu-l-mulk) and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, two of the numerous sons of 'Abdullah Khān, Sayyad Miyān, were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively.² About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was *faujdar* of Sultānpur Nazarbār in Baglānah, *ṣūbah* Khāndesh, after that, of Siūnī Hōshangābād also in Khāndesh, then again of Nazarbār coupled with Thalez in *sirkār* Asīr of the same *ṣūbah*. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangābād. The younger brother Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in 'Ālamgīr's reign held charge first of Rantambhōr, in *ṣūbah* Ajmīr, and then of Hindaun Biānah, in *ṣūbah* Āgrah.

After prince Mu'izzu-d-dīn, the eldest of Shāh 'Ālam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of the Multān province, Hasan 'Alī Khān and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Bilūc zamīndār, the Sayyads were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Mu'izzu-d-dīn thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite 'Isā Khān, Mā'in. The Sayyads quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lāhōr, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Mun'im Khān, the *Nāẓim* of that place.³

¹ For instance, see Khāfī Khān's remarks, II, 730.

² If, as Rieu, 783, suggests, two of the portraits in B. M. Add. 18,800 are those of the Sayyad brothers, they were rather short men of a burly build, both with rather large heads and prominent noses, that of H. A. K. being especially beak-like. They have close-cropped beards, that of the elder brother quite white, the other's still a little black at the corners of the mouth.

³ *Ma'āşiru-l-umrā*, III, 130; Khāfī Khān, II, 456; Wārid, 90, 91. For Baglānāth see *Āin*, II, 208 and *M-ul-u*, I, 414. Akbar (*Āin* l. c.) placed Nazarbār in *Ṣūbah* Mālwa. It was transferred again to the Khāndesh *ṣūbah* about 1609, Bom-

When 'Alamgīr died and Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādūr Shāh, reached Lāhōr on his march to Āgrah to contest the throne, the Sayyads presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Šafar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively, with a gift of kettledrums. In the battle of Jājau on the 18th Rabi' I. 1119 H. (18th June 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyad habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nūru-d-dīn 'Ali Khān, was left dead on the field, and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zū-l-qa'dah 1119 H. (Feb. 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of 'Abdu-llah Khān, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new emperor or his vazir.¹

The two Sayyads managed to quarrel with Khānazād Khān, the vazir's second son, and though the breach was healed by a visit to them from the vazir in person, there is little doubt that this difference helped to keep them out of employment. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān is also said to have offended Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh. The morning after the battle of Jājau, the prince visited their quarters to condole with them on the death of their brother, Nūru-d-dīn 'Ali Khān, and in so doing launched out into praises of their valour. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān met these overtures in an aggressive manner, saying that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne. Mu'izzu-d-dīn was vexed by this speech, and refrained from making any recommendation to his father in their favour. Nay, he did his best to prevent their obtaining lucrative employment, and we read of their being obliged to rely upon the emperor's bounty for their travelling expenses, which were necessarily great, as they were kept in attendance on the court while it was constantly on the march.²

Gaz. xii, 458, where the name is given Nandurbar. Sultanpur is a town to the N. E. of Nandurbar town, id 471. Thalez might stand for Thālner, an ancient town in Khāndēsh, situated on the Taptī, 28 m. N. E. of Dhūlia, id, 473. It is perhaps a little too far west of Asir to be a quite satisfactory identification. Siūnī and Hōshangābād are two well-known districts in the Central Provinces, C. P. Gaz. 206 and 468. As to Mu'izzu-d-dīn's dealings with the Bilōc tribes, see *Ma'āşir-i-'ālam-gīrī*, 432 (Year 1112 H.), id, 470, (Year 1114 H.), Khāfi Khān, II, 462, 463, Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a, Wārid, pp. 86-88 (my copy, episodical account introduced in reign of Mhd. Shāh). Also *Mu-l-u*, I, 825, 826, under Khudā Yār Khān, Lethī.

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 575, Kāmwar Khān, 20; *M-ul-U*, I 321, III, 130.

² *Akhbārāt* or news-letters, dated 24th Zū-l-hajj 1119 H. (16th March 1708); Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Morley, cxxxiii; Wārid, 91.

In *Shā'bān* 1120 H. (Oct. 1708) 'Abdu-llah *Khān* had been named to the *ṣubāh* of *Ajmēr*, then in a disturbed state owing to the *Rājput* rising, a condition of things with which Sayyad *Shujā'at Khān* seemed hardly capable of dealing. Sayyad 'Abdu-llah *Khān* had barely more than reached *Dihli*, in order to raise new troops and make other preparations, when the emperor, Bahādur *Shāh*, changed his mind and *Shujā'at Khān* was received again into favour and maintained in his Government. At length, by the favour of prince 'Azīmu-*sh-shāh*, Abdu-llah *Khān* on the 21st *Zū-l-qa'dah* 1122 H. (10th Jan. 1711) became that prince's deputy in the province of *Allahābād*. About two years earlier (11th *Muharram* 1120 H., 1st April 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother Ḥusain 'Alī *Khān*, to represent him in another of his governments, that of *Bahār*, of which the capital was at 'Azīmābād *Paṭnah*.

9. ḤUSAIN 'ALĪ *Khān* ESPOUSES *Farrukhsiyar*'S CAUSE.

When *Farrukhsiyar* first arrived at 'Azīmābād, Ḥusain 'Alī *Khān* was away on an expedition, apparently the recapture of *Ruhtās* fort, which about this time had been seized by one Muhammad *Razā*, Ra'āyat *Khān*. The Sayyad had felt annoyed on hearing that *Farrukhsiyar* had issued coin and caused the *Khutbah* to be read in his father, 'Azīmu-*sh-shāh*'s, name, without waiting to learn the result of the impending struggle at *Lāhōr*. Thus on his return to his head-quarters his first impulse was to decline altogether that prince's overtures. In truth, no attempt could well look more hopeless than that upon which *Farrukhsiyar* wished to enter. The prince's mother now hazarded a private visit to the Sayyad's mother, taking with her her little granddaughter.¹ Her arguments rested on the fact that the Sayyad's position was due to the kindness of the prince's father. That father, two brothers, and two uncles had been killed, and the prince's own means were insufficient for any enterprize. Let Ḥusain 'Alī *Khān* then choose his own course, either let him aid *Farrukhsiyar* to recover his rights and revenge his father's death, or else let him place the prince in chains and send him a prisoner to *Jabāndār Shāh*. Here the prince's mother and daughter bared their heads and wept aloud. Overcome by their tears, the Sayyadah called her son within the harem. The little girl fell bareheaded at his feet and implored his aid. His mother told him that whatever was the result he would be a gainer: if defeated, his name would stand recorded as a hero till Judgment Day; if succes-

¹ Probably this is the girl who, when she grew up, became *Mhd. Shāh*'s consort and at his death in 1161 H. (1748) showed considerable judgment and resolution in securing the throne for her husband's son, *Aḥmad Shāh*.

ful, the whole of Hindūstān would be at their feet, and above them none but the emperor. Finally she exclaimed, 'If you adhere to Jahāndār Shāh, you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claim upon you.' At these words Ḥusain 'Alī Khān took up the women's veils and replaced them on their heads swearing a binding oath that he would espouse the prince's cause. The next night Farrukhsīyar presented himself at the Khān's house, saying that he had come either to be seized and sent to Jahāndār Shāh, or to enter into an agreement for the recovery of the throne. The Sayyad bound himself finally to fight on Farrukhsīyar's behalf. He wrote at once to his elder brother, 'Abdu-llah Khān, at Allahābād, inviting him to join the same side, and Farrukhsīyar addressed a *farmān* to him making many promises, and authorising him to expend the Bengal treasure, then at Allahābād, on the enlistment of troops. It is quite clear that at this time, or soon afterwards, the two chief places in the empire, those of chief minister and of first noble (*Amīru-l-umarā*) were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.¹

10. 'ABDULLAH KHĀN, ON BEING SUPERSEDED AT ALLAHĀBĀD, GIVES
IN HIS ADHESION TO FARRUKHSĪYAR.

At first 'Abdu-llah Khān's intention was to submit to Jahāndār Shāh, the *de facto* emperor, to whom he sent letters professing his loyalty and offering his services. Three months before the death of Bahādur Shāh, he had gone out towards Jaunpur to restore order. In this he was not successful and the pay of his soldiers fell into arrears. The men raised a disturbance, and 'Abdu-llah Khān's only anxiety was to escape from them and take shelter within the fort of Allahābād. He promised publicly that as soon as he reached the city, all the collections then in the hands of his agents should be made over to the troops. On the return march, word came of Bahādur Shāh's death.²

A few days before his arrival at Allahābād, Shujā'u-d-din Khān, son-in-law of Murshid Qulī Khān, *diwān* of Bengal, had reached that place with one *kror* of rupees (about £ 1,000,000),³ the annual remittance from that province to the imperial treasury. Hearing of the late emperor's death, the envoy halted at Allahābād in some perplexity. 'Abdu-llah Khān, at his second interview with Shujā'u-d-din Khān,

¹ Wārid, 136 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 708, 710, 711. As to Ruhtās, see Kāmwar Khān, entry of 22nd Zū-l-ḥajj 1123 H. (30th Jan. 1712.)

² Wārid, 138 b., 139 a.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, 715, puts the sum at 28 *lakhs* of rupees (£ 280,000). Shujā'u-d-daulah, Shujā'u-d-din Mhd. Khān, died as Subahdār of Bengal on the 17th Muḥarram 1152 H. (25th April, 1739), aged nearly 80 years (*T-i-Mḥdi*).

impressed on him the danger of keeping such a large amount of treasure in camp outside a turbulent city; it ought to be removed to a place of safety within the fort, and when the succession was settled, it could be made over to the prince who gained the day. Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān yielded to this specious advice, and 'Abdu-llah Khān, as soon as he was master of the coin, used it to pay the arrears of his soldiers.¹

While 'Abdu-llah Khān was still in expectation of a favourable reply to his letter to Jahāndār Shāh, he was surprized to learn that his government had been taken from him, and that the deputy of the new governor was on his way to take possession. The province had been granted to a Gardēzi Sayyad of Mānikpur, *ṣubāh* Allāhābād, one Rājī Muḥammad Khān,² who had risen to notice in the recent fighting at Lāhōr, and through the reputation thereby acquired had been appointed *Mīr Ātash*, or general of artillery. The new governor nominated as his deputy his relation, one Sayyad 'Abdu-l-ghaffār (a descendant of Sayyad Ṣadr Jahān, *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣadūr*, Pihānwi).³

'Abdu-l-ghaffār obtained contingents from one or two zamindārs and collected altogether 6,000 to 7,000 men. When he drew near to Karrah Mānikpur, Abu-l-ḥasan Khān, a Sayyad of Bijāpur, who was 'Abdu-llah Khān's *bakhshī*, advanced at the head of 3,000 men to bar his progress. In the end of Jamādi II 1124 H, (29th = 2nd August, 1712) they met at a little distance from Sarāe Alam Cand,⁴ and encamping four or five miles from each other, they passed some days in fruitless negotiations. Then 'Abdu-l-ghaffār prepared his men and sent forward his artillery. It so happened that the very same day Saifu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, and Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, younger brothers of 'Abdu-llah Khān, and Ratn Cand, his *diwān* or chief financial agent, arrived with a reinforcement of four hundred horsemen. Although some of the Sayyads rode out to the front, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār

¹ Wārid, 138 b, Khāfi Khān, II, 711.

² Gardēzi, see Elliot, *Supp. Gloss.*, 447; Gardēz is situated in the Bangashāt, not far from Kohāt, *Ā'in*, II, 407 note 2. Rājī Mhd. Khān first entered the service through Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān. Kām Rāj, *Ibratnamah*, calls him Husāmu-d-dīn, who had been made Sayyad Rājī Khān, Bahādur, Dilāwar Jang. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār is there called his brother.

³ Blochmann, *Ā'in* I, 208, 468. Pihānī, a village near Qaunauj or Lakhnau; Ṣadr Jahān was Akbar's *ṣadr* in the 34th year (about 1589). He died in 1020 H. (1611-12) in Jahāngīr's reign; he was said to be 120 years of age, Beale, 229. *M-ul-U*, III, 348. Pihānī is now in the Hardoi district, *Oudh Gaz*, III, 160.

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, 712, spells the name Abū-l-muḥsin Khān, and says he was originally from Najaf, the Holy. On the same page the month is Jamādi I instead of II. Mānikpur and Karrah are both on the Ganges, the former about 45 and the latter about 39 m. N.-W. of Allāhābād. Sarāe Alam Cand is 20 m. N.-W. of the same place.

could not be tempted into attacking them. At length, when the opposing forces were at the distance of a musket shot from each other, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār discharged a volley from all his cannon and without an instant's delay ordered his horsemen to charge. Despite their well-known bravery, the Bārhaḥ Sayyads gave way, many were killed and wounded, the rest fled. Only the three Bārhaḥ brothers with Abu-l-ḥasan Khān and Ratn Cand stood fast at the head of four hundred men. In a short time many of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār's soldiers dispersed in search of plunder, but he kept together enough of them to surround the Sayyads. They now came to close quarters: when Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān with many others was cut down and killed. A high wind blew up the dust and it soon became impossible to distinguish officer from soldier, white from black, friend from foe. Suddenly there arose cries that Sayyad 'Abdu-l-ghaffār was slain.¹ The Bārhaḥ Sayyad's drums and trumpets striking up a joyful march, the other side lost heart and turned for flight. In vain 'Abdu-l-ghaffār shouted, 'I am here! I am alive!' No one listened, and the day so nearly won was irremediably lost. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār withdrew his shattered force to Shahzādpur, one march to the rear.²

When it was too late, Jahāndār Shāh saw his error and endeavoured to propitiate 'Abdu-llāh Khān. Promotion from 4,000 *zāt* to 6,000 *zāt* was offered, with confirmation in the government of Allahābād in his own name. The fulsome heaping-up of titles in the letter addressed to 'Abdu-llāh Khān is some indication of Jahāndār Shāh's consternation at the turn affairs had taken. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār was thrown overboard, and the letter to him is couched in terms which might have been addressed to a rebel, instead of to a man who had been trying to carry out faithfully the orders that he had received. It was too late, however, and in vain was this humiliating attitude assumed. 'Abdu-llāh Khān, disgusted at the treatment he had received, had already thrown in his lot with Farrukhsīyar.³

11. FARRUKHSIYAR LEAVES PATNAH AND REACHES ALLAHĀBĀD.

After Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had declared himself, there were other important adhesions to Farrukhsīyar's cause. From the first Aḥmad Bēg, a man long attached to the family, had been particularly active and useful in obtaining adherents; he was now made Ghāziū-d-dīn

¹ It was really his brother who was killed (*Sivānīh-i-Khizrī*, 24). Khizr Khān was present.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 692, and 712, Khizr Khān, 24, *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, III, 132. Shahzādpur is on the Ganges about 35 miles N.-W. of Allahābād.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, 714. For the letters of Jahāndār Shāh see *Inshāe Mādḥū Rām* (lithographed) pp. 85, 86. This compilation was put together in 1136 H. (1723-4).

Khān, Ghālīb Jang, and as some say received a promise of the wazirship.¹ One of the most notable of these accessions was that of Sidiṣht Nārāyan, son of Dhīr, a powerful zamindār of the Bhōjpur country in Shāhābād.² The Ujainiyah clan to which he belonged had long claimed practical independence and had never paid its revenue unless upon compulsion. In the reign of 'Ālamgīr, Rājah Rūdar, descended in the fifth generation from the first Ujainiyah rājah of Bhōjpur, had risen to notoriety and was joined by most of the neighbouring zamindārs. In consequence of his rebellion against constituted authority he was deposed, and the chiefship given to his brother, ancestor of the present Jagdispur and Dumrāon houses in that parganah. During 'Ālamgīr's long absence in the Dakhin, the governors and faujdārs left the zamindārs alone. Dhīr, a distant cousin of the Rājah, descended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, used this opportunity, seized many zamindāris, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 30,000 foot. When prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān was governor at Paṭnah, this zamindar attended his court. A settlement had nearly been effected when Dhīr became alarmed and escaped. Rājah Dhīr died of fever in the year 1712. Sidiṣht Nārāyan, his second but eldest surviving son, who had only recently succeeded, had already begun a dispute with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's subordinates. To enforce his claims he had come with a large armed force and was encamped at Hājipur, on the further side of the Ganges from Paṭnah city. He talked of plundering the country. Aḥmad Bēg was sent to him to induce him either to offer his services or retire from the position he had taken up. Aḥmad Bēg's eloquence persuaded him to accept service, bringing with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen.³

¹ Yahyā Khān, 119 b, and see biography in *Mu-l-u.* II, 869. A man was introduced by him, whose name I read as Maṣl (or perhaps Faṣl) Khān (Ijād, 41 b), who was made A'zam Khān and first Bakhshi. But he was superseded by the Sayyads and Khawājah A'sim (Khān Daurān) almost as soon as appointed; his appointment as Bakhshi was taken away on the 15th Zū-l-qa'dh (13th Dec., 1712) and I know not what became of him.

² I am able to identify this man and his family through a paper, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Rāi Bahādūr Jai Pargāsh Lāl, C. I. E., *dīwān* to the Maharājah of Dumrāon, K. C. I. E.: it was procured for me by the kind offices of G. A. Grierson, Esq., C. I. E. Dhīr (b. 1655, d. 1712) held as his ancestral fief Barānwa in parganah Pirū, sirkār Shāhābād (Pirū town is about 32 m. S. E. of Arrah). On the 11th April 1715 O. S. the English envoys on passing through Arwal (a town about 40 m. S.-W. of Paṭnah, in Thānah Jahānābād of the Gayā district, and close to the bank of the Sōn) remark 'this is the place where Sedisti naran has a strong fort and good guard.' Pirū is about 20 m. W. of Arwal and on the other side of the Sōn.

³ Ijād, 61 a., 63 b.; Khāfi Khān, II, 712.

Khawājah A'ṣim, who had escaped in safety from the battle field at Lāhōr on the day when prince 'Aẓimu-sh-shān lost his life, now joined Farrukhsiyar at Paṭnah after a short time spent at his home in Āgrah. He was at once received into the old position of favour which he had held before he had been recalled from Bengal by 'Aẓimu-sh-shān. He received the title of Ashraf Khān, was made superintendent of the privy Audience Chamber, and for a time held in addition the command of the artillery. Ṣaf Shikau Khān (Ḥasan Bēg), Deputy Governor of Orissa, also threw in his lot with Farrukhsiyar, and Mir Mushrif, a Lakhnau Sayyad, joined with some four thousand horsemen belonging to his own tribe. Another new adherent was Zainu-d-dīn Khān, son of Ghairat Khān and grandson of Bahādur Khān, Dāūdzaī, of Shāhjahānpur in Rōhilkhand, followed by four thousand brother Paṭhāns.² Money was the great want. Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of rupees, which had reached Paṭnah on its way from Bengal to Dehli.³ Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of rupees. Some money, estimated at from half a *lakh* to five *lakhs* of rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch company's goods, their factor at Paṭnah, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Sūrat Singh, Khatrī, the chief official of Nāṣir Khān, Deputy Governor of Kābul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures to Dilhī, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlockmen, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion.

¹ For Bahādur Khān, Dāūdzaī, the founder of Shāhjahānpur, see *Mu-l-u.*, I, 415. He left seven sons, of whom only two, Dilāwar Khān and 'Aẓiz Khān, Chaghataī, are there named. In *T-i-Mḥdī*, year 1138 H., we have the genealogy stated thus :—

Daryā Khān, d. 1040 H. (1630-1).

|
Bahādur Khān, d. 1059 H. (1649-50).

|
Ghairat Khān.

|
Zainu-d-dīn Khān, killed 1124 H. (1713).

|
Bahādur Khān, killed 1138 H. (1725-6).

As to Zainu-d-dīn Khān, his mad doings and rough mode of forcing money out of Fath Ma'mūr Khān's widow at Shāhābād (Oudh), see *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*, my copy, 274. That work says he joined Farrukhsiyar west of Allahābād.

² Khāfī Khān, II, 715, states the sum that thus fell into Farrukhsiyar's hands as 75 *lakhs*.

During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukhsiyar's soldiers.¹

At length on the 17th Sha'bān 1124 H. (18th September 1712), Farrukhsiyar's advance tents were sent off from Paṭnah. Four days later he started himself at the head of 25,000 men. After a halt of six days he reached Dānāpur on the 28th (29th September). On the 4th Ramaẓān (4th October) he moved to Shērpur, thence to Matolī; on the 12th (12th October) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān arrived from Paṭnah. Next day they reached the banks of the Sōn, which was still much swollen by rain. With the help of Sidiṣṭ Nārāyan and by the special exertions of Aḥmad Bēg, Kōkah, a boat bridge was thrown across, and on the 17th Ramaẓān (17th October) they crossed to Sitārā. Further stages were Khatōlī (20th), Sūrī (21st), Mahādeo (22nd), Jaipur (23rd), the last two being places in parganah Sahasrām, then on the 24th Sahasrām itself was reached. Khurramābād was arrived at on the 25th, Mohānī (26th), Sālōt (27th), Sarāe Said Rājā (28th), Sarāe Mughūl (29th), and the Ganges bank at Chōtah Mirzāpur, opposite Banāras, on the 30th Ramaẓān (30th October). There was some talk of levying a contribution on the rich men of that city, but through one Rāe Kirpā Nāth they were excused, on condition of sending money after a few days. This forced loan, amounting to one *lakh* of rupees, was received by the prince when he arrived at Allahābād.

After one day's rest the march was continued through Sarāe Mōhan, Sarāe Bābu, Sarāe Jagdis to Jhūsī. Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān had pitched a camp at Jhūsī a week before, and had been there in person for two or three days. On the 6th Shawwāl (5th Nov. 1712) he arrived in the imperial camp and was received in audience. Formal engagements were entered into through Khawājah A'ṣim, Ashraf Khān, by which the post of *wazīr* was accorded to 'Abdu-llah Khān and that of *Amīru-l-umarā* to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Before leaving Jhūsī a blessing on their arms was besought at the shrine of the holy man, Shēkh Taqī.² On the 13th Shawwāl (12th Nov. 1712) the whole army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats and encamped between the old and the new city of Allahābād, and next day moved a little farther on to Sipahdārganj. Here we will leave Farrukhsiyar and turn to the movements of prince A'zzu-d-dīn.³

¹ Ijād, a, 66 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 715; Valentyn, IV, 299.

² Sayyad Ṣadru-l-haqq, surnamed Taqīu-d-dīn Muḥammad, Abū-l-Akbar, son of Sha'bānu-l-millat, was born at Jhūsī in 720 H. (1320-1) and died there on the 7th Zū-l-ḥajj 785 H. (31st January 1384).—*Mamba'u-l-ansāb*, B.M. Or. 2014, fols. 70-72.

³ Ijād, 66 a, 72, 73, 74, 75; Khāfi Khān, II, 711, 715. B. M. 1690, fol. 100 b, says they reached Allahābād on the 10th Shawwāl (9th Nov.). The distances as measured on the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88, are Sarāe Mōhan, 8½ m., Sarāe Bābu,

12. PRINCE A'ZZU-D-DĪN'S ADVANCE TO KAJWAH, HIS DEFEAT AND
FLIGHT TO ĀGRAH.

When Jahāndār Shāh heard of the defeat of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār, the defection of Abdu-llah Khān, and the march westwards of Farrukhsiyar, he sent urgent orders to his son A'zzu-d-dīn to move onwards from Āgrah, in the neighbourhood of which he had lingered. The prince was not well pleased at his supercession in the supreme command, and furthermore was far from friendly to his father's favourite, Lāl Kuṃwar. These causes may have led him to conduct the enterprize in the half-hearted way which was so soon to result in disaster. Nor could much reliance be placed on the leaders of his troops, some of whom were found, so early as the 1st Rajab (3rd August 1712) to be in traitrous communication with the enemy. From intercepted letters it was found that seven artillery officers had offered to go over to Farrukhsiyar followed by many other officers and twenty thousand men. The ring-leaders were seized and thrown into prison; but disaffection pervaded the entire army, their pay being much in arrear. This force, numbering some 50,000 horsemen,¹ accompanied by powerful artillery, now set out on the march towards Allahābād. On the day that they reached the Itāwah boundary, the faujdār of that place, the 'Alī Aṣghar Khān already referred to, appeared, and to gain time entered into negotiations. The imperial leaders demanded from him the revenue of the current year, which owing to the contested succession, had not been collected. They also called for the accounts of previous years. These demands, which in A'zzu-d-dīn's own interests were very inopportune, were evaded by the faujdār with excuses founded on the revenue rules and by pleas about his accounts. This dispute continued from stage to stage until on the 2nd Shawwāl 1124 H. (1st November 1712) they arrived near Kōrah.²

At Kōrah they were met by Mahtā Chabēlah Rām, faujdār of *Caklah* Karrah Mānikpur,³ and as already noted, a protégé of Farrukhsiyar's

18 m., Sarāe Jagdīs, 18½ m., Jhūsī, 38 m., total 83 miles. Sipahdārganj was probably so named after Sipahdār Khān (see *ante* p. 173, n. 4), who was governor of Allahābād from the 37th to the 41st of 'Ālamgīr, 1104 H.–1108 H., 1692–1696, *M-ul-U.*, III. 591. Possibly the Subahdarganj on plate 44 of Constable's Hand Atlas is a corruption of this name. It lies one mile west of the Khusrū Bāgh and just south of the E. I. Railway.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 120 a, asserts that A'zzu-d-dīn's force was really no larger than one sent as an escort *badraqah*).

² Khāfi Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 70 b; Valentyn, IV, 299.

³ Or, as Ijād says, of Kōrah.

house. Pressure was put upon Chabēlah Rām, but he refused A'zzu-d-dīn's overtures. He was tempted with an offer of a *manṣab* of 3,000 *Zāt*, 2,000 horse, the title of Rajah, robes of honour, a standard and kettle-drums (the last three having been brought with the prince from Dihli). After this offer was refused, they demanded all the treasure which had come from Bengal and all the money in the Imperial chest. Chabēlah Rām prevaricated and ceased his visits. Much disconcerted at this failure, A'zzu-d-dīn continued his route. The faujdārs followed with their own troops, march by march, but pitched their camps two miles or more from the main army. It was now quite obvious to the Prince's advisers that Chabēlah Rām would seize the earliest opportunity to make his escape. Accordingly, when they were at Kajwah, Luṭfu-llah *Khān* (then known as Sarfarāz *Khān*) was sent at the head of their best troops with a request that Chabēlah Rām would move his camp close to theirs, or that, in compliance with a written order from Jahāndār Shāh, then first produced, he should march into Audh, to which government he was thereby appointed. Chabēlah Rām accepted the second alternative. Next day, giving out that he wished to bathe in the Ganges, and would thence continue his road to Audh, he moved to the river bank at the Khamsarah ferry, some five miles from Kajwah. He was still trying to find out the easiest road to Allahābād, when spies brought word that Farrukhshiyar's camp was not further off than two or three marches, and the news was to him "as a rain cloud to a thirsty man in a desert." At early dawn he made a forced march and soon joined Farrukhshiyar.¹ Chabēlah Rām and his nephew, Mahtā Girdhar Lāl, were received with honour, their offerings accepted, and gifts conferred on them. 'Alī Aṣghar *Khān*, too, who had been watching for a chance of escaping, joined Farrukhshiyar at Kuṇwarpur a few days after Chabēlah Rām, and shortly afterwards, on payment of five lakhs of rupees, was made *Khān Zamān*.

Chabēlah Rām's arrival was most opportune, and from the money in his possession, he now began to advance fifteen thousand rupees a day. Farrukhshiyar also borrowed from some merchants of Bengal and Paṭnah, who joined the camp and travelled with it, the terms being *sawāe*, or a return of the principal and 25 per cent, plus promises of titles and rank. The Prince's troops had been in great distress on the march. His leaders, nay he himself, only received every now and then a little *khicrī* (a poor man's dish, made of pulse and spices), and the day that they got this food was counted as a festival ('*Id*'). The common soldiers lived on what they could pick up in the fields, such as green

¹ B. M. 1690, fol. 160 b, says he joined at Bindkah. According to *Ijād*, 80 a, the camp was there on the 24th *Shawwāl* (23rd Nov. 1712).

leaves (*sāg*), pumpkins (*kaddū*) and the like. The horses got little or no grass or grain.¹

Towards the end of *Shawwāl* (29th-28th November 1712), while Farrukhsīyar was still at a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos*, A'zzu-d-dīn proceeded to throw up entrenchments at Kajwah. Being the site of 'Ālamgīr's victory over Shujā' in January 1659, this place was looked on as one of good omen. The ditch that they dug round their position was some fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep, but without water. The earth dug out was thrown up in the inner side, forming a protection of about the height of a man. On this earthwork guns were placed and one large mortar. The approaches were so defended, that they believed it quite impossible for any enemy to reach those inside. Their intention was to keep within cover, and if an attack were made, to reply by artillery fire alone.²

During this time Farrukhsīyar continued his advance from Allahābād. His force is variously estimated : some putting it at 25,000 horse, some at 50,000 horse and 70,000 foot. He reached Sarāe Chōlī on the 19th *Shawwāl* (18th November 1712), was at Hathganw on the 20th, Amrātū on the 21st, Sarāe Manda on the 22nd, Chēdā Abūnagar on the 23rd, Kuṇwarpur on the 24th, and Rōshanābād on the 25th. Here he learnt that the enemy were entrenched at Kajwah, at a distance of about five miles. Next day they advanced to 'Āqilābād. Here a new adherent appeared in the person of Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, at the head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen, chiefly Afghāns. For some years this man, a native of Mau on the Ganges, in Parganah Shamsābād of the Āgrah *shūbah*, had lived as a soldier of fortune in Bundēlkhand, hiring out himself and his men, first to one and then to another of the large zamīndārs, between whom there raged interminable quarrels about their lands and their boundaries. Muḥammad Khān changed sides as often as he thought it of advantage to himself. Lately he had presented himself in prince A'zzu-d-dīn's camp, in the hope of employment and reward. Disgusted with what he saw there, he felt it more prudent to transfer his services, and now joined Farrukhsīyar. He was presented through Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān and taken into the prince's service.³

¹ *Ijād*, 71 a; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 716; *Khūshhāl Cand*, 391 b; *Yahyā Khān* 120 a. The straits for money in which Farrukhsīyar was can be seen from his short private notes to Chabēlah Rām in *Aj'āibu-l-āfāq* (B. M., Or. 1776) fol. 19 b, 29 b, etc.

² *Ijād*, 77 a; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 698, 716; *Elphinstone*, 530.

³ *Khāfi Khān*, II, 715; *Ijād*, 776; *Khūshhāl Cand*, 392 a. Hathganw is about 19 m., Sarāe Manda about 11½ m. east of Fathpur; Chēdā Abūnagar I identify (thanks to my friend Mr. C. Rustomjee, c. s.) as a suburb of Fathpur itself. The other places are not traced.

From Rōshanābād, on the 25th Shawwāl 1124 H. (24th November 1712), 'Abdu-llah Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān were sent on in advance to reconnoitre. If they found a convenient point they were to deliver an assault. The entrenchment was to be surrounded on all sides and a heavy fire of artillery directed on it. Farrukhsīyar was in favour of an immediate attack, 'Abdu-llah Khān counselled prudence while, as yet, the respective strength of the two sides had not been tested. The two Sayyads rode on, intending to take note of the position, until they were close to the ditch. No sally was made; they were not even fired upon; and they examined the position at leisure. During the night a disposition of the attacking force was made under the orders of Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān, Sayyad Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīr Khān, Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān and Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn). Their cannon were placed in readiness behind the shelter of the mud walls in the neighbouring villages. On the left of Farrukhsīyar's army, positions were allotted to Ashraf Khān (Khwājah A'ṣim), Mahtā Chabēlah Rām, Afrasyāb Khān, and other leaders of the Wālā Shāhī (or household) troops. Four hundred camels belonging to the other side were captured at the outposts and brought in.¹

On the 26th Shāwwāl (25th November 1712), Farrukhsīyar's main camp moved on half a mile to 'Aqilābād. During the day the position of A'zzu-d-dīn was assailed by matchlock and rocket-fire, to which his cannon replied. On the 27th another short move was made and the same distant fight was maintained. Again on the 28th (27th Nov.) there was a march to Bindkī, and on this date one Haiyā Khān, grandson of Ḥamid Khān, Qurēshī, deserted from the other side, and was rewarded with his great-grandfather's title of Dāūd Khān.²

During the 28th Shāwwāl the distant attack was kept up and even rendered more severe. Early the next morning, the 29th, was fixed for the final assault. But during the night between the 28th and the 29th Shāwwāl (28th Nov. 1712), Khwājah Ḥusain, Khān Daurān, and Luṭful-llah Khān took counsel together, and to their timid minds no other idea presented itself except flight. That seemed to them the only way out of the difficulty. The prince refused to move, and remonstrated in these terms: 'O Nawāb! thou art like an uncle to me, and yet givest me advice to flee! How strange this is; for I have never heard until now that any one of Taimūr's House has fled without a battle. We are in sight of the enemy: we ought not to retreat without a fight.' Khān Daurān, finding that his proposal was rejected, prepared forged letters, bearing the seals of Imtiyāz Maḥal (*i.e.*, Lāl Kuṇwar) and Kōkaltāsh

¹ Ijād, 78 b, 79 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 716.

² Ijād, 80 a. For Dāūd Khān Qurēshī, see *M.-ul-u.* II, 32, and for Ḥamid Khān, his son, *id* II, 37.

Khān, to the effect that the Emperor was dead, that they had kept the body and allowed no one to know the truth; thus, if the prince came quickly, he would secure the throne. This device had the desired effect.

A little after midnight, one or two caskets having been filled with the most valuable jewels and some gold coins collected, A'zzu-d-din, his wife Sayyad Bēgam, daughter of Bēdār Bakht, and her women, were brought out and placed on elephants in covered canopies. A few special adherents joined them. No baggage was taken with them; even the treasure chests were left behind.¹ With all the signs of intense fright, they took their way back to Āgrah, which they reached in about a week. All their camp equipage and other wealth was left behind to be plundered. When morning dawned, consternation fell upon the abandoned soldiers, flight was their only thought, and many did not even take time to saddle their horses or gather up the most necessary articles.²

When word was brought to Farrukhsīyar's camp, his men streamed out like so many hungry hawks, to plunder and take possession. Men who had not known how to provide for one day's food, became suddenly masters of great wealth.³ The women's clothes left behind were so many, it is said, as to weary out those who were sent to count them. Farrukhsīyar's camp was now moved close to Kajwah. A pursuit was proposed, but countermanded by Farrukhsīyar. Of the property of the fugitives each man was told to keep what he had been able to seize. Eleven elephants were set aside to be afterwards given as presents. During a two days' halt at Kajwah some more men of note from the opposite side arrived to tender their submission, among them Sayyad Muẓaffar Khān, maternal uncle of 'Abdu-llah Khān, Sayyad Ḥasan Khān (son of Sayyad Ḥusain Khān) and Sayyad Mustafā Ḥusain (grandson of Sayyad Quṭb, Nāgōrī). Luṭfu-llah Khān also seems to have taken advantage of the first opportunity to abandon A'zzu-d-din and make his peace with Farrukhsīyar.⁴

13. JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH LEAVES DIHLĪ FOR ĀGRAH.

On the night of the 4th Zū-l-qa'dh (2nd December 1712) messengers brought to Jahāndār Shāh at Dihlī unwelcome news of A'zzu-d-din's

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 122, asserts that even the women were left behind.

² Ijād, 80 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 717; Yahyā Khān, 120, a, b.

³ This leads Kāmwar Khān, 122, to burst forth into verse :—

T'alīu-llah, zahī, qyūm o dānā !

Tawānā-dih-i-har nā-tawānā !

'Behold of the omnipotent the wisdom and strength !

'Giver of power to all those who are powerless !'

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 717; Kāmwar Khān, 122; Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a. Muẓaffar Khān afterwards Sayyad Khān Jahān, Bārhab, d. 1131 H. (1719).

flight from Kajwah. It was at once decided to march from the capital to meet the danger. Many thought it would be wiser to await the enemy at Tughlaqābād, eight miles south of Shahjahānābad, or New Dihli. These views did not, however, prevail and a march to Āgrah was resolved upon. Strenuous efforts were made to put matters into order and to collect an army. But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *matériel* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns and stored within the fort at Dihli, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the zamindārs, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials, uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses.

Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Wārid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms, which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.¹ A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment store-houses, full of goods which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Bābar, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Āgrah was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.²

¹ Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a, says that his father, Jīwan Rām, was then a clerk in the Khānsāmān's (Lord Steward's) office. In one week jewels, worth three *krors* and fifty *lakhs* of rupees, were distributed, among them a pot (*matkah*) of jasper studded with jewels, said to have belonged to Bhīm, brother of Rajah Judishtar (*Yudhiṣṭhira*) and Arjun! It was 11 Shāhjahānī dīra'a (yards?) long and 7 *dīra'a* wide! Although the dimensions are so precisely stated, I need hardly say that they should be taken *cum grano*.

² Ijad, 82 b, 83 a; Wārid, 140 a; Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a.

One of the first measures necessary was to provide for the immediate safety of Āgrah. This was undertaken by Cīn Qilic Khān, son of Ghāziū-d-dīn Khān, and his Mughal troops. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh this noble had shown dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded him, and finally had retired into private life at Dihlī. In the struggle for the succession he had intended to take 'Azimu-sh-shān's part, but withdrew in time and was saved through Asad Khān's and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān's intercession. When danger from Farrukhsiyar threatened, he was too important a man to be neglected, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān, in spite of their old rivalry, found it expedient to make him an offer of employment. He was sent to Āgrah to join prince A'zzu-d-dīn, who had then advanced across the Jamnah beyond that place, but being a very cautious man, he thought it wiser to delay any open declaration until affairs had further developed. He therefore found excuses to linger at Āgrah. The Mughal leader next in importance to Cīn Qilic Khān was his cousin, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, who was now recalled from active service, in which he had been engaged in *sirkār* Sahrind against Bandah, the leader of the Sikhs.¹

At the end of a week arrangements had been completed. Asad Khān, the *wakil-i-mutlaq*, was put in supreme charge of the city, Muḥammad Yār Khān being made governor of the province and Ahlu-llah Khān left in charge of the fortress containing the imprisoned members of the royal house. The captivity of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, 'Ālamgīr-shāhī, and of Maḥābat Khān, son of the late *wazīr*, was made more strict; they were now locked up in the cells at the Tripōliyah (or triple gate) of the fortress. Other retainers of the emperor's deceased brothers were sent to prison. The commands in the army were thus distributed. To the vanguard were posted Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and Jānī Khān, Jahān Shāhī, with strong artillery and 40,000 horsemen. Rāji Muḥammad Khān, general of artillery, had under his orders one hundred cannon, large and small, besides swivel-guns (*zambūrak*) and camel-guns (*shutarnāl*). His orders were to accompany the advanced tents. Islām Khān, Murtaẓā Khān, and A'zam Khān guarded the special artillery, detached to protect the centre, under command of Razā Qulī Khān.² Muḥammad Amin Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān were on the right wing; Jan Niṣār Khān and Mukhtār Khān on the left wing. Round the emperor in the centre were posted Sa'du-llah Khān, Ḥafīzu-llah Khān and Bahrahmand Khān. Faiẓu-llah Khān, Mughal, was told off to guard the retinue of Lāl Kuṇwar.³

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 698, 716.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 718, adds the name of Sipahdār Khān.

Nūru-d-dīn, 97; Kāmwar Khān, 123; Khāfi Khān, II, 718. For Zū-l-fiqār Khān

At the time appointed by the astrologers, near midnight of the 11th Zū-l-qa'dh 1124 H. (9th December, 1712), Jahāndār Shāh mounted his elephant and rode to his camp at Talāb Kishn Dās near Khizrābād, seven miles south of the city. The superstitious were cast down from the first by several accidents, which they treated as omens of coming evil. As the elephant bearing the imperial kettle-drums passed through the Dihli gate the ropes broke, the drums fell, and were dashed to pieces; and a few days before this sinister event, the imperial umbrella, having caught on the branch of a tree, lost its fringe of pearls. In addition, from the time that Jahāndār Shāh set out for Āgrah, there were continuous clouds and rain with cold wind night and day. The cold was so intense that to the native of India to put his head outside his tent was a hardship, his blood felt frozen in his veins, and his feet were hard as if made of stone. The mist was so thick that the country round could not be seen. It need hardly be added, at any rate those acquainted with the country will know well, that these outward circumstances produced the most depressing effect upon the troops. To add to the other bad omens, came the accidental destruction by fire, in spite of the rain and cloud, of some of the imperial tents. At Khizrābād they learnt that prince A'zzu-d-dīn had reached Āgrah on the 6th of the month (4th December, 1712). Farrukhsiyar was at the same time reported to be at Itāwah, though he was then really at Makhanpur.¹

On the 15th Zū-l-qa'dh (13th December, 1712) a move of six or seven miles was made to Talpat. Here the puerile expedient was hit upon of writing long appeals for aid to Rajah Ajit Singh, Rahtōr, of Jōdhpur, and the other Rājput chieftains. There was no time left for any such help; the issue must be decided, one way or the other, long before any of the Rājputs could arrive upon the scene. On the 16th the camp was pitched at Faridābād, about sixteen miles south of the

and Kōkaltāsh Khān, see *ante* p. 160, Jānī Khān, p. 163 note 1, Rājī Mhd. Khān, p. 180 note 2, Murtaẓā Khān p. 161, No 5, A'ẓam Khān (Mhd. Māh), p. 160, Razā Qulī Khān, p. 161, No. 7. Islām Khān was Mir Ahmad, grandson of Islām Khān, No. 1; he died in 1144 H., 1731-2, aged 77, *Mu-l-u.*, II, 741, *T-i-Mhdī.* year 1144 H. Jān Niṣār Khān, (*Khawājah* 'Abdu-l-mukāram), d. Rabī' II 1131 H. (Feb. March 1719), aged about eighty, *T-i-Mhdī.* and *Mu-l-u.*, I, 537. Mukhtār Khān (S. Mhd. formerly Iftikhār Khān) received this, his father's title, in 1119 H. (1708) when the latter was made Khān 'Ālam (d. 1121 H.); his sister married Bēdār Bakht, son of A'ẓam Shāh, (see *Mu-l-u.*, III, 655, for the father). M. K. died early in 1153 H. (1740), *T-i-Mhdī.*

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 98, 99; Khāfī Khān, II, 700, 718. K. K. gives the date of starting as the middle of Zū-l-Qa'dh, 25th Āzar of the Ilāhī era. Itāwah is 73 m. south-east of Āgrah, Thornton, 305; Makhanpur, 34 m. north-west of Cawnpore, *id.* 642.

city, and two days were allowed for the arrival of stragglers. Two days were passed at Sikrī. On the 21st (19th December, 1712) the army was at Palwal, and there the final muster was made. The force reported was 100,000 men, horsemen, matchlockmen, and bowmen. Their tents covered a circle of about eight miles in circumference.¹ By daily marches Agra was reached on the 1st Zū-l-hajj (29th December, 1712), and their first encampment was at Bāgh Dahrah, three miles south of the city. Prince A'zzu-d-dīn came out of the city and joined his father. Curāman, the Jāt, to whom many flattering promises had been made, joined with a large number of men from his own tribe. Efforts were now made to unearth the buried treasure in the fort of Agra. Many doorways were opened but nothing was found, and there was no time to conduct an effective search. Some ingots of copper were discovered, which had been lying there since Akbar began to build the fort and had prepared these copper bricks for use in the walls. These were now sold off in order to pay some of Jahāndār Shāh's men.²

On the 2nd Zū-l-hajj (30th December, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh moved to Samūgarh, a place close to the Jamnah, to the east of and about eight miles from Agra city. Probably it was chosen as having been the site of 'Ālamgīr's victory of the 6th Ramaẓān 1068 H. (June, 1658), won by him over his brother Dārā Shukōh. At first sight, looking to his superiority in numbers and in artillery, no one could have doubted of Jahāndār's being victorious. But he was in the power of a mere bazar woman, surrounded by men of low antecedents, and his army under the command of officers, who with the exception of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, were men of no experience or position. The fighting men from beyond the Indus were disgusted with Jahāndār Shāh's habits and many spoke despairingly of his chance of winning the day. Farrukhsīyar's success was desired even in Jahāndār Shāh's own ranks. The want of unity among the leaders now began to produce its effects. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 700, says Zū-l-fiqār Khān had more than 20,000; the total was 80,000 horse, 100,000 foot. In another place, II, 718, he gives 70,000 to 80,000 horse and innumerable foot. Farrukhsīyar had not one-third of these numbers. Faridābad to Sikrī about 10 miles, Sikrī to Palwal, 9 miles, Indian Atlas, sheet 49 South-East.

² This tradition of copper bricks still survived in Agra in 1768, see 'Orme Collections,' Vol. 15, p. 4304, *Mémoire des Jats*, an anonymous essay in French, written in that year. 'Comme en effet il y'a encore une tradition assez bien établie parmi les habitants d'Agra, qu'Akbar l'a voulu faire de cuivre rouge, et qu'il avait déjà fait faire une quantité de briques de ce métal.' But this author believes the idea is founded on a mistake, and that the copper ingots were made for transmutation into gold by a fakir, in whose powers as alchemist Akbar believed.

at daggers drawn with Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and his brother, Muḥammad Māh (A'zam Khān). Again both of these rival parties were jealous of the Mughal leaders, and fully resolved that they should have as little chance as possible of distinguishing themselves. Indeed, the Mughals were hardly believed in or trusted at all. They were suspected, and as it turned out truly suspected, of intending some treachery. Out of these jarring elements little agreement could be looked for. The first plan, supported by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, was to cross the river at once and occupy the other bank. This idea was given up, from want of concord among the leaders, in spite of their having thrown across a bridge of boats just opposite to their camp. Kōkaltāsh Khān objected to their crossing on the ground that if they fought on the further side, the enemy when defeated would be able to get clear away and renew the struggle. All boats for a distance of eighty or ninety miles were called in, and when Farrukhsīyar arrived, not a boat or a boatman could be found on his side of the river.¹

The only attempt at a forward movement was one undertaken to drive away the advanced guard of Farrukhsīyar's army. Reports were brought in that Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn) Rōhēlah, and Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, with seven or eight thousand horsemen and some light artillery, had reached the further bank of the Jamnah, intending to effect a crossing. Rājī Muḥammad Khān was ordered out with his guns to the other side of the river, to prevent them crossing. As soon as Rājī Muḥammad Khān, accompanied by Islām Khān, reached the river bank, Farrukhsīyar's troops decamped. The guns were taken across the water without difficulty. But on the further side the heavy rain had turned the sandy bed into a quagmire, into which the feet of men and animals sank up to the knee. The guns could not be placed in position, the generals therefore left them and returned. Two days had been wasted in this operation. The rain continued, the river began to rise, and thus on Jahāndār Shah's side all fear of the enemy effecting a crossing was dissipated. In this state of false security they continued, and the festival of the sacrifice (10th Zū-l-ḥajj = 7th December, 1712) was celebrated at Samūgarh. One writer, Yahyā Khān, says that all action was intentionally postponed until after the festival.²

14. FARRUKHSIYAR ARRIVES AT THE JAMNAH.

From Kajwah, where we left him, Farrukhsīyar marched on the 3rd Zū-l-qā'dh (1st December, 1712) to Qaşbah Kōrah. Here he halted

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 701, 718, 713; Elphinstone, 522.

² Nūru-d-dīn, Multānī 100; Yahyā Khān, 120 b. Samūgarh is spelt Sumogay on Indian Atlas, sheet 50.

for a day, forty horses from A'zzu-d-din's fugitive army were brought in, and a visit was paid to the shrine of Shēkh Badi'u-d-din. The next marches were 'Ālamnagar (5th), Dōhar (7th), Jōphrah, (8th), Sapōli (10th), Nadhaya (11th), and the town of Makhanpur on the 12th. On the next day visits were paid to the shrine of Shāh Madār,¹ and gifts were distributed there and at the tombs of other holy men. On the 15th (13th December, 1712) they moved to Makrandnagar, where 'Alī Aṣghar Khān was created Khān Zamān and made a *Bakhshī* in place of A'zam Khān. The next three days were spent in reciting prayers at the tombs of holy men at Rājgir and other places round Qannauj. On the 19th they moved to Jalālābād thence to Sikandrah (20th), Rangpur (21st), Amīpur (22nd), Basantpur (23rd), Kalyānpur (24th), Itāwah (25th), Fāzilābād (27th), Kharsanah (28th), Sarāe Murlidhar (29th), Shukōhābād (1st Zū-l-ḥajj), Firūzābād (2nd), 'Alinagar (4th), and I'timādpur (5th). This last named place is three miles from the left bank of the Jamnah, and lies five miles north-east of Samūgarh.²

Here they learnt that Jahāndār Shāh had reached Samūgarh and had seized all boats up and down the river for a distance of eighty or ninety miles. But not a sign of his further advance could be detected, nor did there seem any chance of their being able to cross the river themselves in order to force on a decisive battle. Therefore, on the night of the 5th Zū-l-ḥajj (2nd January 1713), it was resolved to send a capable messenger to Jahāndār Shāh. This man was to point out to him that they had come a journey of three months' duration, he, one of seven days only. Why then should he hold back and delay the final battle? Let him cross at once and meet them in the field. An answer was awaited until the following day. The envoy then returned and reported that he had been taken before Jahāndār Shāh and had repeated his message. The only answer received was 'It is well! it is well!'³ When he passed the river they cried to him 'You see the bridge, you see the bridge,' but so far as he could find out, they neither meant to cross over themselves nor allow their opponents to cross.⁴

On the 7th (4th January 1713) Farrukhsīyar moved his camp some

¹ Makhanpur is 34 m. North-West of Cawnpore, Thornton, 342. Shēkh Badi'u-din, known as Shāh Madār, died 18th Jamādī I, 840 H. (29th November 1436):—

Dar Makanpūr hast marqad-i-ū,

Hind rā shud hazār fakhr az ū.

Khazīnatu-l-asfīyah, II, 310; Beale, 364, has 838 H. (26th December, 1434).

² *Ijād*, 82 b.

³ *Khūb ast*, *Khūb ast*.

⁴ *Ijād*, 88 b.

six miles to Sarāe Bēgam.¹ Here welcome news was received of treachery at work in Jahāndār Shāh's army. 'Ubaidu-llah, Shari'yatu-llah Khān (afterwards Mir Jumlah), who had been with 'Azīmu-sh-shān at Lāhōr, had intended to return to Bengal and rejoin his patron's son as soon as possible. On his way down country he had been detained at Āgrah by the officials on the river bank and had not been allowed to continue his journey. At this time, when Jahāndār Shāh arrived at Āgrah, Shari'yatu-llah Khān, at the peril of his life, opened secret negotiations with the Mughal leaders, Cīn Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, and by his persuasion these men agreed not to fight when the day of battle between the two claimants to the throne should arrive.²

15. SAYYAD 'ABDU-LLAH KHĀN FINDS A FORD AND CROSSES THE
JAMNAH.

At this point things seemed to have come to a deadlock; Jahāndār Shāh would not and Farrukhsiyar could not cross the Jamnah. Not a boat could be found anywhere. After three days' delay, the patience of 'Abdu-llah Khān was exhausted. Making over charge of the main body to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he marched up the left bank in the hope of finding a ford. When he had gone four or five miles, he came to a place where he saw some villagers wading through very shallow water. Forthwith (9th Zū-l-ḥajj 1124 H., 6th Jan. 1713) he crossed with the five hundred horsemen then in his retinue.³ Messengers were sent to Farrukhsiyar, and 'Abdu-llah Khān's men passed the long winter night shivering from the cold, while they held their bridle reins in their hand and watched for the daylight to appear. The 10th (7th January, 1713) was passed by Farrukhsiyar at Mēwātpur, where he sacrificed for the 'id. During the night of the 11th, the prince crossed the river on his elephant.⁴ The rest of the army preceded or followed

¹ Query, the Sarāe Hazam of the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50, nine miles west of I'timadpur.

² Ijād, 88b, 89a; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 157, 158; Khāfi Khān, II, 700. 719. Luṭfu-llah Khān, Ṣādiq, is said to have aided in seducing Jahāndār Shāh's officers from their allegiance, Khūshḥāl Cand 392 b.

³ Irādat Khān (J Scott, II, pt. IV, 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of Gāo Ghāt, some miles above Āgrah, Khāfi Khān II, 720, fixes it on the night of the 11th (i.e., the night between the 10th and 11th); the water, he says, was up to a man's chest, and the place, near Sarāe Rōz Bahānī, four kos from Āgrah on the road to Dihli. The *Aḥwālu-l-Khawāqin* 56a, also calls it the ford of Rōz Bahān.

⁴ Khāfi Khān II, 720, says this crossing was 3 or 4 *pās* i.e., 9 to 12 hours after that of 'Abdullah Khān.

him; and although the night was dark, no lives were lost. Camp was pitched at Sarāe Rōz Bahānī¹ near Akbar's tomb at Bihishtābād Sikan-drah, five miles west of Agrah fort, with the front facing Āgrah and the rear towards Dibli. For a time Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, were left behind on the left bank of the river as a rearguard, with the view of protecting the army from any sudden pursuit on the part of Jahāndār Shāh. They, too, crossed the river twenty-four hours after the rest of Farrukhsiyar's army. The next day, the 12th Zū-l-ḥajj (9th January 1713), the rain being less heavy and the mist less thick, was spent in rest and in drying such articles, cannon, muskets, and rockets, as had been wetted in fording the river.²

16. JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH MOVES FROM SAMŪGARH.

No one in Jahāndār Shāh's army had dreamt that Farrukhsiyar would be able to cross the Jamnah so easily and expeditiously. The news spread consternation through his camp and threw all his plans into confusion. A retrograde movement was commenced, and although the distance was not great, the whole day was spent on the march and the emperor did not reach his tents until nightfall. During the next two days, the 12th and 13th, Jahāndār Shāh failed to take the initiative. Zū-l-fiqār Khān thought that delay would induce many of Farrukhsiyar's soldiers to desert, for they were supposed to be enduring great hardships in various ways.

17. THE BATTLE OF ĀGRAH (13TH ZŪ-L-ḤAJJ 1124 H. 10TH JANUARY, 1713).

Zū-l-fiqār Khān chose a position resting, to the right or east, upon the gardens and houses of Agrah, having to the left and the front, that is, the west and north, cultivated fields, thorny scrub, and many broad, deep ravines. To the south and rear the emperor's camp was pitched.

¹ Yahya Khān, 120b, places the camp near Sikandrah. Sarāe Rōz Bahānī (Kh. Kh. II, 720) was 4 kos or about 9 miles west of Āgrah. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shēkh Rōz Bihān, a little to the east of Shirāz town, E. G. Browne, 'A year amongst the Persians,' London, 1893, p. 274. Rōz Bahān was the son of Abī Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 606 H., *Shīrāz-nāmah*, B.M. Addl. 18,185 fol. 136 a. The Rōz Bahānī who built this Sarāe may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Rōz Bahānī is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agrah. A Yusuf Khān, *Rōz-Bihānī*, was Sūbahdār of Ḥaidarābād in Bahādur Shāh's reign—*Ma'aṣiru-l-umarā*, I, 256. Again, *id.* III, 771, a corps of Rōz Bahānīs was present in the battle against Prince Shujā' at Bēlghaṭha near Akbarnagar (Mungēr?).

² Ijād, 90; Wārid, 141 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 720; Yahyā Khān, 120b.

³ Ijād, 91; Wārid, 141 b; Khāfi Khān II, 719, 720; Nūru-d-dīn, 101.

His troops were disposed in the following order. As the heavy artillery had been abandoned in the Jamnah sands, the light artillery under Razā Qulī Khān was removed from the centre and sent to the front, where the guns were drawn up in line and chained together. The vanguard was divided by Zū-l-fiqār Khān into two parts of fifteen thousand men each, one half under Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and the other under Jānī Khān. In support, there were ten thousand men under Sabhā Cand, ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān. The first body was opposed to ‘Abdu-llah Khān, and the second to Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān, who was on the right of Farrukhsiyar. Rājī Muḥammad Khān, the *mīr-ātash*, was sent off with seven elephants to recover the heavy guns from the sand, and by great exertions he was able to bring forty of them into action.¹

By three o’clock in the afternoon of the 13th Zū-l-ḥajj or 19th Dī (10th January 1713) the rain stopped and the mist lifted; the contending armies as the sun broke out were able to perceive each other’s movements. ‘Abdu-llah Khān mounted his elephant and displayed his war standard. Then he sent Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, Khān Zamān (‘Alī Aṣghar) and Muḥammad Khān, at the head of 8,000 horse, to meet Jānī Khān, who was advancing in his direction.² Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) who was on Jahāndār Shāh’s left, had been told to attack Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān, who was immediately in front of him. But disobeying Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s orders, he turned his attack against Farrukhsiyar’s centre. Meanwhile, in the expectation that the guns would soon arrive, there was some hesitation on Jahāndār Shāh’s side in charging home. Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān, provoked that the enemy had assumed the initiative, lost patience and advancing into the field with Ṣaf Shikan

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 102; *Ijād*, 91 a. Jahāndār Shāh’s disposition is thus given by Khāfi Khān, II, 720, 721; *Right*—Kōkaltāsh Khān, A’zam Khān (M. Māh) Jānī Khān; *Left*—Zū-l-fiqār Khān, ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān; *Yaman* (right) of Kōkaltāsh Khān.—Mḥd Amin Khān, Cīn Qilīc Khān, Jān Niṣār Khān; *Yaman* (right) and *Yasār* (left) of the Yaltamash—Rājī Mḥd Khān, Islām Khān, Murtaẓā Khān, Ḥafīẓu-llah Khān and Razā Qulī Khān. Farrukhsiyar’s order of battle is given thus by Kām Rāj *Ibratnamah*, 50 a; Vanguard (*harāwal*) S. Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān, Mīr-ātash, S. Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān, Ṣaf Shikan Khān, Ghulām ‘Alī Khān; *Ultamsh* and left (*jaranghār*) S. Ḥasan ‘Alī Khān (*i.e.*, ‘Abdu-llah Kh.), S. Najmu-d-dīn ‘Alī Khān, S. Saifu-d-dīn ‘Alī Khān, Muḥammad Khān Bangash; (*baranghār*) Rājāh Chabēlah Rām, Girdhar Bāhadur, ‘Alī Aṣghar Khān; centre (*qūl*), Farrukhsiyar, Aḥmad Bēg, Khawājah A’ṣim, Mḥd. Muẓaffar, Mīr Ghyāsu-d-dīn.

² Khāfi Khān, 721, says this force was sent against Kōkaltāsh Khān. Irādāt Khān (J. Scott, II, pt. IV, p. 93) appears to be referring to this movement when he says ‘After a cannonade, I saw two bodies from the enemy’s line charge ours one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rajah Chabēlah Rām, and the latter, that of Sayyad Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān.’

Khān (Ḥasan Bēg) Mir Ashraf (of Lakhnau), Saifu-llah Khān, Fath 'Ali Khān, commanding Farrukhsiyar's artillery, Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhēlah, and others, delivered an attack on Kōkaltāsh Khān.¹ They soon came to close quarters, Jahāndār Shāh's side having the advantage. Seeing this result, 'Abdu-llah Khān sent forward reinforcements under Afrasyāb Khān² and Imtiyāz Khān. Razā Quli Khān, commanding Jahāndār Shāh's light artillery, poured a fire on them which did much damage. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, feeling that the crisis of the battle had come, dismounted from his elephant, as was the custom on an emergency, and continued the fight on foot, sword in hand, surrounded by his relations and tribesmen. At this juncture, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān appeared in the Sayyad's rear and his Turānī bowmen wounded Ḥusain 'Ali Khān so severely that he fell to the ground and fainted. The Bārhaḥ Sayyads closed round him and defended his body till they were cut down themselves. Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhēlah, was felled by a sword cut delivered by Muḥammad Māh (A'zam Khān), brother of Kōkaltāsh Khān. Mir Ashraf (brother of Mir Muṣhrif) and Sayyad Fath 'Ali Khān³ flung themselves on the Turānīs and slew many before they were themselves slain. No one on Jahāndār Shāh's side had anticipated that Kōkaltāsh Khān would fight so bravely, and as it turned out, he was the only one of the chief generals who really exerted himself in his master's cause.⁴

While the contest between Ḥusain 'Ali Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān was proceeding, Chabēlah Rām made a fierce charge on Jānī Khān. He was backed up by Khān Zamān ('Ali Aṣghar) and Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, and both sides made play with their swords. Many a head was severed, many a saddle emptied. It was late in the afternoon

¹ Khāfi Khān, 721, says this attack was against Zū-l-fiqār Khān.

² Subrāb, known as Mirzā Ājmērī, entitled A. Kh, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, son of Girshāsp, died at Dihlī on the night of the 25th Ramaẓān 1130 (21st August 1718), rank 5,000 (*T-i-Mḥdī*). He had been Farrukhsiyar's instructor in wrestling and archery. An anecdote of his strength is given in *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*, 277. His elder brother was the Rashīd Khān (*ante*, p. 173) who had been sent in 1124 H. to eject Ja'far Khān (Murshīd Quli Kh) from Bengal, *vide* Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96, *et seq.*

³ Sister's son of S. 'Abdu-llah Khān, Khūshhāl Cand, 392b. On fol. 396b there is an incredible story that 'Abdu-llah Khān, jealous of his nephew's reputation, sent a European doctor to him at Āgrah, where he was left behind wounded, with instructions to kill him by poisoned ointments, and it was done accordingly.

⁴ Khāfi Khān. II, 721; 722, Khūshhāl Cand, 393a. Shrīdhar Murlīdhar also gives us the date in the following lines :—

Sambat su satrah sai onhattari, Pūs punyō Budh tahī,
Sam sō agyārah tētis-ā, mähē Moharram chandahī,
Aru pātsāhī mäh Ājur bāēsī, Shrīdhar kahi
Saph jaṅg kī sāt sadhī, Sāheb Jahān kinī sahī.

and the booming of Jahāndār Shāh's big guns could now be heard. Farrukhsiyar's men seemed to lose heart; many left the field and took shelter in neighbouring villages.¹

When Zū-l-fiqar Khān noticed that Kōkaltāsh Khān had begun to gain the upper hand, he directed Mukhtār Khān to lead a strong reinforcement to their right, to the aid of Jānī Khān, and gave orders in person to the artillery to direct their fire against 'Abdu-llah Khān. The latter held his ground boldly against this artillery fire, his position being on a mound slightly raised above the plain. But some of his supporters, particularly the new levies, showed signs of giving way. In spite of this 'Abdu-llah Khān, surrounded by his Bārhab Sayyads, then not numbering more than two or three hundred, remained on the mound where he had taken up his place. Availing himself of his opportunity, Curāman, Jāt, a practised plunderer, fell on the rear of Jahāndār Shāh and captured many elephants and camels together with the baggage loaded upon them; and one of his officers, Girdhar Singh, tried to drive off the oxen, which were used to drag the heavy guns, but was slain by Rāji Muḥammad Khān in the attempt.²

Mukhtār Khān reached Jānī Khān's side at a critical moment. By his aid, the ranks of Chabēlah Rām were thrown into confusion and his men were almost on the point of flight. Then Chabēlah Rām and Muḥammad Khān, taking their lives in their hands, drove their elephants alongside that ridden by Jānī Khān, and succeeded in killing him. On the death of their leader Jānī Khān's men fled, but Mukhtār Khān with 4000 men continued the fight until he was severely wounded and forced to withdraw.³

At this stage of the battle Farrukhsiyar's defeat seemed assured. Reports had spread that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was dead; while separated from his standard elephant and from most of his captains, 'Abdu-llah Khān had only a few men left around him; and in the centre, with Farrukhsiyar himself, there were no more than six thousand men. Even these men had no heart left in them and were only waiting for a way of escape. On the other side was Zū-l-fiqar Khān with 25,000 fresh troops, many noted leaders, and powerful artillery. But for some reason, either that he despised the enemy or that he wished Kōkaltāsh Khān to be thoroughly defeated, he refrained from intervening in the

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 106.

² Nūru-d-dīn, 106.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, 108. Khāfi Khān, II, 702, says Mukhtār Khān was killed on the spot, Kāmwar Khān, 126, however, explains that he was killed by plunderers during the retreat on Dīhlī. He was the son of Mukhtār Khān, Khān 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāhī, (d. Ṣafar 1121 H. April 1709), *Mu-l-u*, III, 655, Kāmwar Khān spells it Mukhtiyār Khān.

fight. Although repeatedly asked for permission, he declined to give the order to attack. At length, learning that Jānī Khān was dead, Zū-l-fiqār Khān despatched Cīn Qilic Khān to support Kōkaltāsh Khān, with instructions, when free of that duty, to turn his attack against Farrukhsiyar's centre. Zū-l-fiqār Khān then made ready to deal himself with 'Abdu-llah Khān, who was still in his former position. Chabēlah Rām withdrew his men into ambush, while Muḥammad Khān succeeded in joining 'Abdu-llah Khān. The scattered troops of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān re-assembled round the elder Sayyad brother. Farrukhsiyar sent two thousand men from the centre, which he commanded in person. In all 'Abdu-llah Khān had now some four thousand men at his disposal.¹

Leaving Zū-l-fiqār Khān's division on his right, 'Abdu-llah Khān began to work round to the rear-guard of Jahāndār Shāh, at the moment when Kōkaltāsh Khān on his way to Farrukhsiyar's centre, had been met and stopped by Chabēlah Rām. 'Abdu-llah Khān, as soon as he saw the prince's danger, had detached Muḥammad Khān, to protect their centre. Razā Qulī Khān, general of Jahāndār Shāh's light artillery, had just turned his guns on Farrukhsiyar, when Muḥammad Khān came up and by a hand to hand encounter silenced his fire, Razā Qulī Khān himself losing his life. Chabēlah Rām, meanwhile, had defeated and killed Kōkaltāsh Khān, whereupon that noble's men fell back upon the main body of Jahāndār Shāh's army, and threw his centre into confusion. A'zam Khān, (Mḥd Māh), brother of Kōkaltāsh Khān, who had been severely wounded, succeeded in rejoining Jahāndār Shāh.²

These events assisted 'Abdu-llah Khān in making good his advance. Accompanied now by Chabēlah Rām, Muḥammad Khān, and 'Alī Aṣ-ghar Khān, he came out behind the rear of Jahāndār Shāh. The movement was facilitated, or rather made possible, by the defection of the Turānīs under Cīn Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who according to the previous agreement, stood aloof and made no effort to interfere. At the rear there was no preparation for defence. 'Abdu-llah Khān, without a moment's hesitation, marched straight upon the elephants bearing Jahāndār Shāh's women. Islām Khān and Murtazā Khān came out and did their best to stem the torrent. But they were soon killed.³

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, on seeing the enemy opposed to him move away to one side, adopted the erroneous idea that they had abandoned the field and were in full flight. He drew rein and countermanded his

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 109, Khāfī Khān, II, 702, 722, 723, Khūshhāl Cand, 393 a.

² Nūru-d-dīn, 110 Khāfī Khān, II, 703, 724. K. K. says, 724, that Razā Qulī Khān, after being wounded, escaped to Āgrah and was there poisoned.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, Multānī, 110, 111.

attack. Many urged that as Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was dead (as was then thought) and 'Abdu-llah Khān had left the field, it would be easy to decide the day by attacking Farrukhsiyar, who could have with him no more than 3,000 or 4000 disheartened men, already more than half-inclined to take to flight. Zū-l-fiqār Khān objected that the field of battle had been already vacated by the enemy, and that night was coming on. He would cause the drums to beat for the victory and encamp where they stood. The few of the enemy left were unable to cross the river at night, flight was barred to them in every direction. Why then trouble any further? In the morning they could take them alive at their leisure. The drums were beaten, in forgetfulness of Zāl's advice to Rustam, 'No enemy can be counted despicable or powerless.'¹

'Abdu-llah Khān heard Zū-l-fiqār Khān's drums beating. He was perplexed by the sound and feared that some calamity had overtaken Farrukhsiyar. Resolving to sell his life as dearly as possible, he charged the enemy's centre from its rear. Jahāndār Shāh was still engaged in repelling this onset when his attention was diverted by new assailants. Clouds of arrows had struck the elephants bearing his women and the women singers; the uproar and confusion were increased by the Jāt plunderers, who fell at once on the baggage placed in charge of the rear-guard. The men defending it were scattered and fled to the centre division. This point became in its turn the object of 'Abdu-llah Khān's attack, his force having swollen on the way to some 12,000 men. Jahāndār Shāh's elephant, on receiving several arrow wounds on its face, got out of its driver's control. The Emperor made an effort to reach Zū-l-fiqār Khān, so that their united forces might turn and face the foe. But the elephant was quite uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another; any horseman or foot soldier that it saw it rushed at and killed. The Emperor's body-guard fled in all directions to save their lives. Jahāndār Shāh was thus forced to descend from his elephant and mount a horse.²

Hardly had the Emperor settled himself in the saddle, when Lāl Kunwar arrived in search of him. She forced him to come into her *haudah*, and together they took the road to Akbarābād (Āgrah). Night was now rapidly approaching and his troops in despair abandoned the field. Zū-l-fiqār Khān sent men to repel the enemy but the movement was ineffectual; in the darkness many were slain by the Bārhaḥ Sayyads, and some, among them Mukhtār Khān (son of Khān 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāhi) and Wazārat Khān (son of Mir Khān, the elder), were

¹ *Dānē kih cah guft Zāl bā Rustam-i-gurd, 'Dushmān rā na-tawān ḥaqīr o becārāh shumurd.'*

² Nūrn-d-āin, 112, 113; Wārid, 142 a.

killed by plunderers. The camp followers of Jahāndār Shāh's army, who had taken to flight, were trodden under foot by the retreating elephants, of which there were over two hundred present.¹ When this rout was reported to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, he made no attempt to retreat, but stood where he was for at least three hours after night had fallen. Although on Farrukhsiyar's side they were beating their drums in token of victory, no one, not even 'Abdu-llah Khān, ventured to move against Zū-l-fiqār Khān. Meanwhile the latter had sent messengers, to whom he had promised large rewards, to search for Jahāndār Shāh and A'zzu-d-dīn, and bring one or the other back to the battle-field. If one of them could be found, he intended to make one final charge in the hope of retrieving the day. In spite of all efforts, no trace of either father or son could be found. Uneasy at seeing Zū-l-fiqār Khān still holding the field at the head of his troops, Farrukhsiyar sent him a message asking the reason. If he claimed the crown for himself, his persistence was understood. If on the other hand, he were only a subject, then one heir of the house of Taimūr was as much entitled to his allegiance as another. When A'zam Shāh was defeated, he had submitted himself to Bahādur Shāh; he was bound to adopt the same course now. On this appeal, Zū-l-fiqār Khān withdrew slowly and in good order towards Āgrah. To all his enquiries for Jahāndār Shāh the answer was that he must have gone to the city of Āgrah. Zū-l-fiqār Khān pushed on as fast as possible towards the city, in the hope of finding the Emperor and returning with him to renew the contest. He drew up at Shāhganj near the city, where he remained until midnight, then finding no trace of Jahāndār Shāh or his son, he marched off accompanied by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Rāji Muḥammad Khān, Shākīr Khān and other leaders with their troops. His first march made at night carried him to near Kākrōl, he then changed his direction and made for Dihli.²

Some of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's officers, notably 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Aḥrārī, had advised him to attempt the seizure of Farrukhsiyar's person, an easy enterprize, and if in the morning it were found that Jahāndār Shāh and his son were slain, Farrukhsiyar's gratitude could be assured by placing him on the throne. Zū-l-fiqār Khān declined to entertain this project. Others advised an immediate retreat on the Dakhin, where the Nawāb's deputy, Dāūd Khān, possessed sufficient troops and treasure to renew the struggle. This proposal seemed likely to be accepted. But Sabhā Cand interposed with the remark, 'Think of

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 113; Khāfī Khān, II, 703, 724; Kāmwar Khān, 126.

² Khāfī Khān, II, 724; Yahyā Khān, 121 a; Irādāt Khān in J. Scott, II, pt. IV 94; B.M. No 1690, fol, 161 b. and Aḥwāl-u-khawāqīn, 57 b.

your weak old father! Will you by your own act give him over to be killed?' The by-standers remarked to each other that it was an omen of ill-fortune when, at such a moment, a scribe's opinion was taken and that of soldiers neglected.¹

As the light of morning began to break 'Abdu-llah Khān stopped the pursuit of Jahāndār Shāh and returned to the position occupied by Farrukhsiyar, bringing with him the imperial umbrella and the golden throne called *kancan samīr*, which had been abandoned in the flight.²

FLIGHT OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH TO DIHLĪ.

At the place where he had taken shelter, Jahāndār Shāh caused his beard and moustache to be shaved off, and changed his clothes. When the night was nearly spent he, Lāl Kuṇwar, and Mḥd. Māh (A'zam Khān) mounted a small, two-wheeled bullock-carriage (*bahal*), covered by a canopy, such as women ride in, and started for Dihli. In the morning, about nine o'clock, they reached a village five miles or so west of Mathurā. There they sent for food, and until it was found, lay³ down on the bare earth for a short sleep. They were soon again on their way, and munched as they went the dry bread for which they had begged. Three hours after nightfall on the second night, they reached a village near Sarāe Hōḍal, and here they obtained a little grass for their cattle. Day had hardly risen ere they were again on the road. On the 16th Zū-l-ḥajj H. (13th Jan. 1713), after dark, they entered Talpat, a village thirteen miles from Dihli, which had been granted in perpetuity (*āl taghmah*) by Jahāndār Shāh to Muḥammad Māh, who had built there a house and mosque and planted a garden. His servants were still in possession, and thus they were in comparative safety. As they did not wish to enter Dihli in day-light, and they were worn out by continuous travelling, they went to sleep. At dusk they resumed their journey. Muḥammad Māh advised his master to avoid Dihli and continue his flight to Multān, where he had friends. Jahāndār Shāh answered with idle talk. He still relied on Zū-l-fiqār Khān's oaths and insisted that he must once more see and speak to that nobleman. They reached Dihli in the night of the 18th Zū-l-ḥajj (15th Jan, 1713). Lāl Kuṇwar went to her own house in charge of Muḥammad Māh, while Jahāndār Shāh, still covered with the dust from his journey, repaired alone to the house of Asad Khān, Āṣafu-d-daulah.⁴

¹ Wārid, 143 b, 144 a; *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93.

² Wārid, 148 a, b.

³ *Caṣḥm garm kardan*, to take a nap, *lit.* 'to warm the eyes.'

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 153, 154; I'jād, 108 b to 111 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 725. Mathurā is 35 m. from Āgrah, Thornton, 656; Sarāe Hodal, Indian Atlas, Sheet No.

Zū-l-fiqār Khān with 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān had arrived at Dihli on the preceding day, the 17th (14th Jan. 1713), still at the head of a large and well-equipped force. The people of the city made certain that after an interview with his father, he would renew the struggle, erecting batteries outside the city. Zū-l-fiqār Khān proceeded to his father's house, but found him strongly opposed to further hostilities. He argued that if with 100,000 men, and all the great nobles, they had failed, they were not likely to succeed with disheartened troops. Nor was there any money left with which to pay anyone. By collecting all the rascals and low fellows from the bazars, they might prolong the struggle for two or three days. But their efforts would be only like the final splutter of an expiring candle.¹

Jahāndār Shāh, immediately on reaching Dihli went, as we have said, straight to the house of Asad Khān, in the hope of securing the renewed co-operation of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. When his arrival, alone, without a single attendant, was announced, Zū-l-fiqār Khān directed that he should not be admitted beyond the gate. The short delay was devoted to consultation with his father. The wily old man, regardless of the infamy of the act, saw that Jahāndār Shāh could be converted into a ransom for themselves. Fortune had turned its face away from the man, he had made himself odious by his acts and words. It were best to make him a prisoner. They could then use this act as a means for reconciliation with Farrukhshiyar. Asad Khān had long held the highest office in the State, and five years before had been very gently treated by Bahādur Shāh. As is not altogether unusual with the old, he had come to believe that he was indispensable, that no government could be carried on without him. He imagined that Farrukhshiyar, surrounded as he was by new and comparatively untried advisers, would only be too glad to secure the services of two such experienced persons as himself and his son. If not employed at Court, Zū-l-fiqār Khān was still sure to obtain the government of a province, or at any rate, would be allowed to retain his rank and titles.²

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, whose judgment rarely erred, did not share his father's opinion. He wished to carry off Jahāndār Shāh to Multān, or even to Kābul, and there collect an army; or he could take him to the Dakhin, where Dāūd Khān with all his troops was at their sole disposal. Nay, even if Jahāndār Shāh were abandoned to his fate, why should he not hasten to the Dakhin himself, where without much

50, 32 m. N.W. of Mathurā; Talpat, Elliot, *Supp. Glossary*, 340, 13 m. south of Dihli, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S. E.

¹ M. Mhd., 153; Wārid, 145 a, b,

² M. Mhd., 154; Ijād, 110 a.

exertion he could found an independent principality. Anything was better than submission to Farrukhsiyar—who was there who knew not of his enmity with the late ‘Azīmu-sh-shāh? Was not the alliance of the three princes his work? Furthermore, was it right for them to deliver to an enemy a man who had taken refuge at their house? His father replied that, when Bahādūr Shāh died, every noble took one side or another, and they happened to join that of Jahāndār Shāh. What crime had they thereby committed? Besides, if such a captive were made over by them to Farrukhsiyar, what could he do but receive them into favour. Doubtless it was opposed to the rules of friendship to deliver up Jahāndār Shāh. But everybody detested him; if they espoused his cause, not a soul would join them; and they would only risk their own heads along with his. Let them rather seek in him an instrument for saving their own lives and property. Zū-l-fiqār Khān after some time yielded a reluctant consent. They sent out to Jahāndār Shāh misleading messages of friendship, and on the pretence of his taking repose, inveigled him into a small detached building, round which they drew some tent-screens, and thus made him a prisoner. A joint letter was then despatched by father and son to Farrukhsiyar, claiming recognition for the signal service that they had just performed.¹

Having thus decided on their course of action, Asad Khān thought it advisable to eject Ablu-llah Khān (Saifu-llah) from the fort, to the charge of which he had been appointed when Jahāndār Shāh started for Āgrah. He was replaced by Muḥammad Yār Khān, who had been Šubahdār of Dihli and commandant of the fort from the time of ‘Ālamgir. Information had reached the partisans of Farrukhsiyar that Jahāndār Shāh was hiding in Asad Khān’s house. These men assembled and demanded with threats that the fugitive should be delivered up. By daybreak there was a large crowd, and it looked as if an insurrection would break out. Then to appease the rioters, Jahāndār Shāh was sent a prisoner to the fort, and at his earnest entreaty, Lāl Kuṇwar was allowed to join him. On seeing her, he is said to have exclaimed joyfully, ‘Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord!’ A few days afterwards, on the 23rd Zū’l-ḥajj, by ‘Abdu-llah Khān’s orders, harshness was carried to the point of placing the fallen Emperor’s feet in fetters. Already, on the 22nd Zū’l-ḥajj (19th January, 1713), before any of the victorious prince’s officers had appeared in

¹ M. Mhd, 155. Yahyā Khān, 121 a, who had a personal grudge against the Sayyad brothers, puts Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s objection on the ground that the *Sayyads* were in power, and that they had no tenderness or good feeling for them (Asad Khān and his son). He could not tell how they would act towards him and his father.

Dihlī, the *Khutbah* was read at the Jāma' Masjid, or great mosque, in the name of the new Emperor, Farrukhsiyar.¹

19. END OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH'S REIGN.

Although Jahāndār Shāh lived a few days longer, and we shall recount his actual death in the next chapter, still his reign being ended, it will be convenient to interpose in this place the few details about him which remain to be noted.

Dates of Birth and Death. His life was taken on the 16th Muḥarram 1125 H. (11th February, 1713). As he was born on the 10th Ramazān 1071 H. (10th May, 1661), his age at death was 53 (lunar) years, four months, and six days.²

Length of Reign. His reign, counting from the 21st Šafar 1124 H., the day on which he was crowned, to the 16th Muḥarram 1125 H., the day on which he died, lasted ten months and twenty-five days. (1125 y, 0 m. 16 d. – 1124 y. 1 m. 21 d.)

Coins. The verses on his coins were—

(1) *Zad sikkah bar jar cūn mihr šāhib-i-qirān.*

Jahāndār Shāh, pādshāh-i-jahān.

'Jahāndār Shāh, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions, struck sun-like money of gold.'

2. *Dar āfāq zad sikkah cūn mihr o māh.*

Abū-l-fath-i-ghāzī, Jahāndār Shāh.

'In the horizons struck money like sun and moon, Abū-l-fath, the champion, Jahāndār Shāh.' In the first line there is a variant, *bar* (upon) appearing instead of *cūn* (like).

3. *Zad sikkah dar mulk cūn mihr o māh.*

Shāhān Shāh i ghāzī, Jahāndār Shāh.

¹ M. Mhd, 156; Wārid, 143 b; Kāmwar Khan, 128; Ijād, 110 a. Mhd Qāsim, Aurangābādī, *Aḥwāl-u-l-Khawāqin*, 58, has different details. According to him Jahāndār Shāh put up at a way-side cook-shop, where he wrote a note, and by urgent entreaty prevailed on the man to get it into Āsafu-d-daulah's hands, and if Fate were propitious he would reward him with a *manṣab* and money. One Muḥsin, a servant of Āsafu-d-daulah's, was a customer of the cook-shopman. This servant took the note and gave it to his superior, the Nawāb's *nāẓir*, and from him it passed to the Nawāb. On getting the note, Āsafu-d-daulah sent men to seize Jahāndār Shāh.

² *Ma'āṣir-i-Ālamgiri*, 35; Kāmwar Khān, entry of the 10th Ramazān 1121 H.,—*Khūshbāl* Cand, 387 b, has by error 1072 H., instead of 1071 H. In Valentyn, IV, opposite p. 304, is a portrait of 'Mosoddien' which I take to mean Mu'izzu-d-dīn Jahāndār Shāh, as the same spelling is used for him in the letter-press, see page 304. It shows a man seated on a stool or *takht*, two attendants behind, a noble in front, and a suppliant. The face is of the Central Asian type, usually given to Bābar; narrow and with thin beard.

‘Jahāndār Shāh, king of kings, the champion, struck money in the realm like sun and moon.’ There is also the following variant of the first line. *Ba zad sikkah-i-nuqrah cūn mīhr o māh*, ‘Struck silver money, like sun and moon.’¹

Mint Towns. In the three collections at the British Museum, the India Museum, Calcutta, and the Panjāb Museum, Lāhōr, I count up twenty-eight coins of this sovereign. On three the place of coining is absent or illegible. The rest belong to the following mints; Lāhōr (1), Shāhjahānābād (5), Akbarābād (5), Lakhnau (2), Paṭnah (2), Cambay (1), Surat (3), Burhānpur (2), Aurangābād (4). I am very much surprised at finding Paṭnah in the list, a place where he never had any authority. The other names represent fairly enough the local limits of his brief authority.

Title after Death. His special title after his death was Khuld ārmaghāh, ‘Peaceful in Paradise.’²

Character. His character has been perhaps sufficiently disclosed in the course of our story, and it hardly needs further elucidation. In his earlier years, in the Dakhin and during his government of Multān, he seems to have been a fairly active soldier. It is said that, during the struggle for the throne after ‘Alamgīr’s death, the only thing that A‘zam Shāh feared was Mu‘izzu-d-din’s soldierly qualities. But Jahāndār Shāh’s acquisition of the crown was more due to happy accidents than to his own exertions; and his conduct during his few months of power showed him to be quite unfitted to hold rule over others, being unable, even according to the somewhat lax Eastern standard, to govern himself. He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimūr who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule. The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. In company with Lāl Kuṇwar, he visited them and ‘kissed their feet.’ He was also fond of watching the fighting of elephants. He delighted in illuminations and fire-works, himself setting fire to the *Lankā*, the mimic fortress of Rāvan, the ravisher of Sītā. The cause of his fall is likened by Wārid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing.³

Wives.—Jahāndār Shāh was married on the 5th Shabān 1087 H.

¹ B. M. “The Coins of the Mogul Emperors,” 175 and 571, C. J. Rodgers, *J. A. S. Bengal* (1888), vol. LVII, 29, *id.* “Coins of the Mogul Emperors of India” (Lāhōr Museum), 200; *id.* “Coins of the Indian Museum” (Calcutta), Pt. II, 52, 53; *Ḥadī qatw-l-aqālīm*, 131; *Miftāhū-t-tawārīkh*, 299.

² Blochmann, *Āin*, I, Genealogical Table at end, *Miftāhū-t-tawārīkh*, 300.

³ *Hān! cah shud, ba-gō, zawāl-i-mulk o jāh-at-rā sabāb?*

Guft ‘Az Khwāb-ifdamsubh o shirāb-i-nīm-shab.’

Wārid, 140 b; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.

(14th October, 1676) to the daughter of Mirzā Murād Kām, Mukarram Khān, Ṣafawī, and then, on the 18th Ramaẓān 1095 H. (30th August, 1684) to that lady's niece, Sayyadu-n-nissā Bēgam, daughter of Mirzā Rustam, son of Mukarram Khān. Another wife was Anūp Bāē, who died at Dihlī on the 25th Zū-l-qa'dh 1147 H. (17th April 1735). She was the mother of 'Azīzu-d-dīn ('Ālamgīr II). One wife, or rather concubine, was the woman we have so often mentioned, Lāl Kuṣwar, a dancing girl, created Imtiyāz Maḥal after Jahāndār Shāh's accession.¹

Children. The children of Jahāndār Shāh are shown in the following table:—

Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh.

A'zzu-d-dīn (1)	'Izzu-d-dīn (2)	'Azīzu-d-dīn (3)	Rābi'h Bēgam (4)	Daughter (5).
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Yaḥyā Khān, 119a, calls the younger sons 'Izzu-d-daulah and Mu'īnu-d-daulah.

(1) *A'zzu-d-dīn*. The date of his birth is not recorded, but it must have been before 1103 H. (1691–2), in which year he is mentioned. He was married in 1118 H. (1706–7) to the daughter of Amīr Khān deceased, and again on the 24th Ramaẓān 1121 H. (23rd November, 1709) to a Sayyad Bēgam, daughter of Bēdār Bakht, son of A'zam Shāh. A'zzu-d-dīn was blinded on the 6th Muḥarram 1126 H. (21st January 1714), and died at Dihlī on the 8th Zū-l-ḥajj 1157 H. (12th December, 1744).²

(2) *'Izzu-d-dīn*. This prince's year of birth has not been traced, but he, too, is mentioned in 1103 H. (1691–2). He died in confinement at Dihlī on the 8th Rabī' II, 1151 H. (25th July, 1738).³

(3) *'Azīzu-d-dīn*. He was born at Multān in 1099 H. (1687–8), his mother being Anūp Bāē. He succeeded to the throne in 1167 H. (1754) under the title of 'Ālamgīr the second, and he will be dealt with when we reach the end of his reign.⁴

(4) *Rābi'h Bēgam*. She was betrothed to Bēdār Dil, son of Bēdār Bakht, on the 22nd Rabī' I, 1122 H. (20th May 1710), and died on the 14th Rajab of the same year, (7th September, 1710).⁵

(5) There must have been another daughter, since Jahāndār

¹ *Ma'āşir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 152, 447; 348, *Ma'āşiru-l-Umarā*, III, 583, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1147 H.

² *Ma'āşir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 345; Kāmwar Khān, 59; Yaḥyā Khān, 120 b; *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1157; Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muqaddamah*, 65 a.

³ *Ma'āşir-i-Ālamgīrī* 345; *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1151.

⁴ *Mīrāt-i-Āftānumā*.

⁵ Kāmwar Khān, 73.

Shāh had another son-in-law, Khwājah Mūsē, Sarbuland Khān, son of Khwājah Ya'qūb, Surbuland Khān, Naqshbandī, Bukhārī, who died on the 4th Jamādī I, 1152 H. (8th July 1739) at Shāhjahānābād, aged nearly seventy. This man's father died in 1096 H. (1684-5), *T-i-Mh̄dī*.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED OR REFERRED TO.

In addition to the works noted below, I have also quoted from those entered against the following numbers in the list at p. 112 of the *Journal*, Part 1, for 1894, Vol. LXIII, viz. Nos. 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31. The Orme collections, which I quote once, consist of some 20 folio volumes of extracts made by Mr. Orme; they are now in the Record Department at the India Office.

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21. *Ghuncāh-i-rāg*—by Mardān 'Alī Khān, Ra'nā, (Urdū) 8°, Litho. Lakhnau, 1863.
22. *Miftāhu-t-tawārikh*,—by T. W. Beale (composed 1849). See Elliot, VIII, 441. Litho., folio, Lakhnau, 1876.
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- 1127 and 1132 H. My copy is from an original belonging to the Qāzī family of Jaunpur, N. W. P.
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34. *Aḥwāl-l-khawāqīn*—by Mhd. Qāsim Aurangābādī, 1151 H., B. M. Addl., 26, 244, Rieu, 276. [Not in Elliot].
35. *Khūshāl Cand*.—*Nādiru-z-zamānī*—By K. C., *c.* 1160 H., Elliot, VIII, 70, Rieu, 128, 894. B.M. Addl. 24,027, Or. 1654, Or. 1844, Or. 3288 [Or. 1844 is the only MS. containing Mhd. Shāh's reign (the most valuable part) and even it only gives fragments. The one I quote here, No. 3288 (Oriental) once owned by H. H. Wilson, is a very good complete MS. until the reign of Mhd Shāh, thirty years of which are compressed into three or four leaves, and what there is of this seems a fabrication.]
36. *Muqaddamah-i-Shāh 'Alam-nāmah*—by Ghulām 'Alī Khān, B. M. Addl. 24,028, Rieu, 282, composed after 1204 H. [not in Elliot].
37. *Siwānīh-i-Khizri*—by Mhd 'Umr, son of Khizr Khān (composed at Patnah *c.* 1213-14 H.). My copy.
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39. *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*—by Muḥabbat Khān, son of Faiz 'Atā Khān, Dāūdzaī, Shāhjahānpurī. My copy. See Elliot, VIII, 376 composed 1220 H.

Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, No. VI.
By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plates III & IV).

[Read May 1896.]

I thought when I wrote the Fifth Supplement to Mr. Thomas's most excellent work, that I should not be able to add anything more to it; but constant search and further acquaintance with coins—some of which were gathered in bazaars, some sent me by friends to be read, and some belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal—have shown me that the subject is by no means exhausted. Adhering to my custom, I drew everything new that presented itself to my notice. The result has been the accompanying two plates. I have given the weight and metal of each coin as usual. The capital letters appended to each coin show who the owners were when I drew them. L. M.=Lahore Museum; C. J. R. myself; A. S. B.=The Asiatic Society of Bengal; K.=L. White King, Esq., F. S. A., late Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur; A.=Miss Allsop, of Malerkotlah; B.=Geo. B. Bleazby, Esq., "The Prairie," Lahore; E.=R. Ellis, Esq., Oil Mills, N.-W. Railway, Lahore; B. M.=British Museum, from me. I cannot help regretting that all the coins are not in some Indian Museum, seeing that every coin is new to Numismatics, so far as I am aware. I see no help, however, for coins being obtained by Indian Museums, since I am informed officially that in the new arrangements for the revival of the Archæological Survey of India no provision will be made for numismatics. This is a decision I deeply regret. I cannot thank the Asiatic Society of Bengal too much for the kind manner in which my small attempts to elucidate the numismatics of India have been received. It remains for those who know what coins can do towards throwing light on the history of India, to go on with their studies and to publish results. I am sorry my health compels me to go home for a season. I send my sixth Supplement to Thomas, to the Society, just as I am making preparations to go home.

I make no apologies for lack of arrangement or for brevity. Some time or other I hope to be able to arrange the coins I have described in the six supplements. They should be arranged chronologically, and also with respect to the numbers of the coins given in Thomas.

The coins drawn in the plates are as follows:—

(1)	<u>Shēr Shāh</u> Sūrī	شیر شاه سلطان	خليفة الزمان	915	945 H.
(2)	do.	do.	do.	94 =	94-H.
(3)	do.	ابوالمظفر شیر شاه سلطان خلد	في عهد الأمير	.....
(4)	do.	سلطان شیر شاه ضرب شیر گدّه (Shērgarh)	في عهد الأمير الحامي	In margin 950 سنه	950 H.
(5)	do.	شیر شاه سلطان	..... 943 سنه		943 H.

Nos. 1 and 3 seem the only quarters of dāms of Shēr Shāh known. Nos. 2 and 5 are the smallest copper coins of his I have seen, weighing, as they do, but 18 and 22 grains respectively. No. 4 is quite a new coin of Shēr Shāh, struck at Shērgarh in 950 H. It weighs only 33 grains, but each side is in a circle, and the obverse had a circle of dots outside. No. 5 was struck in 943, and No. 1 in 945, which shows that Shēr Shāh had assumed royalty long before he defeated Humāyūn.

(6)	Ibrāhīm Sūrī	.....	(في عهد)		
		ابراهيم السلطان	(الامير)		
			.....	962	962 H.

This is the only half dām known, up to the present, of Ibrāhīm Sūrī. Only a few whole dāms are known.

- (7) Abū Bakr Shāh. In quatrefoil, المومنين
 نايب امير ابو بكر شاه

Margin

(بن) ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطان 791 H. ۷۹۱

This beautiful coin seems to be the only one known with the king's name in a quatrefoil. It is generally in a square or a circle, or without any area at all.

- (8) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa السلطان ابو المظفر
 السلاطين خليج
 علا الدنيا والدين محمود شاه

This is quite a new type of Maḥmūd Shāh. Duplicate in my own cabinet, obtained in Māndū.

- (9) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa. السلطان ابو المظفر
 البازل علي خليج
 الدنيا والدين محمود شاه

Margin illegible.

This is also a new type of the same king.

- (10) 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'āūd Shāh. سلطان Rude horseman.
 مسعود شاه

A new type of Mas'āūd Shāh's, not in any Museum.

- (11) Firōz Shāh, son of Abū Bakr Shāh امير المومنين فيروز شاه
 نايب بن ابو بكر شاه سلطان 792, H. ۷۹۲

This king is not mentioned in history. His name comes along with his father's, just as his grandfather's, Zafar, comes along with *his* father's. This Firōz Shāh must not be confounded with Firōz Shāh Zafar, the father of Abū Bakr Shāh. I formerly edited one of this king's coins. But I mis-read it. It reads exactly as this one does, and has the same date, but the obverse is in a six-foil area. See No. 24, pl. IX, Vol. LV, Pt. I, for 1886 of *J. A. S. B.*

- (12) Muḥammad Shāh of Mālwa. محمد شاه دارالملک
 السلطان شاديا باد Shādīābād.

Very few coins of this king are known. This seems the only one known in copper. It resembles the coins of Hōshang Shāh.

- (13) Ibrāhīm Sūrī. In square area:— In square area:—
 — ابراهيم خلد الله ملكه
 سلطان و سلطانه
 ابو المظفر سيد و اعلى شانه

Margins: names of the	وامرة	
four companions of	۹۶۲	962 H.
Muhammad.	سنة	

Margins:—

(Banāras) دارالضرر || --- || --- || بنارس

This is the only Rupee of Ibrāhīm Sūrī known. I regret that I am not at all satisfied with my imperfect readings of the legends. The Hon'ble J. Gibbs edited a half-rupee which belonged to Sir Alex. Cunningham, and was more imperfect than this one. It is pretty certain that the mint on the coin is Banāras. It is curious that the names of the four companions should come in the margins of the obverse. They are generally in the margins of the reverse.

(14) Muhammad Sūrī	In square area:—	In square area:—
	سلطان محمد عادل	The Kalimah and
	خدا الله ملکه	۹۶۳ 963 H.
	وسلطانه على امرة	

Margins: apparent-

Upper margin: مبارز الدنيا	ly the names of
Left ,, والدين	the four companions,
rest illegible.	and their attributes.

This is a new type of the rupees of the third Sūrī emperor.

(15) Abū Bakr Shāh and	ابو بکر شاه	فیروز شاه
Firōz Shāh Zafar	بن فیروز شاه	ظفر سلطان
	ظ-فر	
	السلطان	۷۹۱ 791 H.

This coin seems to have been struck curiously. What I have given as the reverse comes on the obverse of No. 23. The curious thing about this is that the date comes along with a king's name. It generally comes on the reverse. It may be a coin struck by mistake. It may have been coined purposely. It is at present unique.

(16) 'Alāu-d-dīn of	In scalloped square:—	In scalloped square:—
Khawārizm.		

علا الدنيا	والدين
above, and below, an	above, and below, an
ornament.	ornament.

A new type of this ruler's coins. I think it belongs to Colonel Sturt of the 2nd P. I., commanding at Kohāt.

(17) Khusrau Shāh.	عدل	بحضرت
	خسرو شاه	دهلي

This is a coin that has been long wanted to complete the types of this king, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau Shāh who reigned in 720 H. Dehli. We know of several of his mohurs, one rupee, in the cabinets of the Society, and several billon types, in the Lahore Museum. This is one of the small types issued by most kings about that time. It was obtained by me in Dehli and is now in the British Museum.

- (18) Naṣrat Shāh. نصرت شاه دارالملک
السلطان دهلي

A heavy copper coin of this king. Coins with this inscription are generally half this weight. I have seen only one duplicate. I forget where it is, and I likewise forget where mine has gone. I see I do not possess it now. This is gross carelessness on my part.

- (19) Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh. السلطان Horseman to r.
الاعظم ناصر above him
الدنيا والدين محمد حسن
to r. बी हमीर:

This is a curious coin and a new type. We know several types of the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh. This one is very much like a type of the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Dehli. It varies, however, in the way in which the obverse legend is written on the coins. And it has محمد حسن instead of محمد over the horseman. I have this coin, and I have seen two others. The B. M. has one given under the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd.

- (20) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban. عدل بحضرت
غياثي دهلي

This is the smallest copper coin of Balban known. Coins with this inscription generally weigh about 26 grs. This is 10·3.

- (21) Altamsh (?) عدل ملک

I think it is a coin of Altamsh. Mr. King obtained it from me.

- (22) Firōz Shāh Zafar. فیروز شاه المومنین
ظفر ابن نائب امير
فیروز شاه ۷۹۱ 791 H.

This is a new type of the coins of this prince. We wanted this to complete his set.

- (23) do. فیروز شاه الخليفة
سلطان المومنين
ظفر امير
۷۹۱ خلافتہ --- 791 H.

I have remarked on this coin before. It is curious the year coming on the obverse, contrary to the custom of the Tughlaq coins.

- (24) and (25) Altamsh. Bull seated to left. Reverse of both,
Above him :— लितिमि horseman, very rude.

These two coins I regard as having the Hindi legend of the reverse of Thomas' No. 44 over the bull :—Srī Sultān Lititimiṣī. Undoubtedly "*lititim*" is on the coin, and I cannot see anything else that it resembles.

- (26) and (27) No king. These two coins have खी वलीफव over the bull.

This legend comes over the horseman of some coins of 'Alāu-d-din Mas'auḍ Shāh, see Thomas' No. 100, p. 122. Over the horseman on these two coins is खी इमोर. The deciphering of these coins took me a long time and caused me much trouble.

- (28) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa. السلطان الا و الدين
عظم ابو المظفر محمود شاه
علا الدنيا ٨٦٩ 869 H.

This is the third new type of this king given in this paper. I obtained it in Dehli. The Mālwa coins have not yet been collected carefully, although several extensive collections are known. From what I have seen of them, they would pay for being collected and edited.

- (29) Nāṣiru-d-din Maḥmūd Shāh. السلطان ناصر الدنيا
الاعظم والدين

This is a new type of the coins of this king. It shows that he introduced this type which was used by Ghiyāṣu-d-din Balban, Jalālu-d-din Fīrōz Shāh, 'Alāu-d-din Muḥammad Shāh and Qutbu-d-din Mubārak Shāh and then fell into disuse in Northern India, but was used by some of the Muhammadan kings of M'abar. I have never seen a second coin of Nāṣiru-d-din like this. It belongs to my friend L. White King, Esq.

- (30) Shamsu-d-din Altamsh. السلطان الاعظم في عهد الامام
and Raṣiah شمس الدنيا والدين المستنصر امير
السلطان المعظم المومنين
رضية الدنيا و

.....

This is the only rupee I know of, bearing the joint names of Altamsh and his daughter Raṣiah. It is a coin perfectly unique. It shows us that we need never be surprised at the results of continued research. Things will turn up that nobody ever expected. It belongs to L. White King, Esq.

- (31) Ghiyāṣu-d-din Tughlaq I. السلطان ابوالمظفر
(Posthumous.) السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه السلطان
الغازي غياث الدنيا انار الله بوهانه

..... ٧٣ - 73- H.

I have drawn one specimen of this coin before. This coin is apparently of good silver and is nicely shaped. It is described by Thomas in his footnote to pages 212 and 213 of his work. This specimen belongs to Mr. Ellis of the N. W. Railway, Lahore.

I find I have finished describing the coins in the two plates. On looking over my notebook I see I have a lot of coins I might have given in a third plate. Had I secured all the coins of 'Alāu-d-dīn of Khwārizm that I have seen of late, I could have given two plates of his coins alone. I let them go, contrary to my usual custom. They will, I hope, be secured by some one else and in course of time edited. Just now should be a good time for collectors in India. The British Museum is no longer purchasing oriental coins. The Indian Government declines to assist Numismatics, and this means that funds will not be allotted to Indian Museums, which are Government institutions, for the purchase of coins. Consequently collectors have the market all to themselves. Unfortunately caravans from Kābul are few and far between. Amritsar merchants inform me that it pays them better to deal with Bukhāra *viā* Batoum, rather than by Kābul. Hence the Kābuli traders who used to bring old coins with them to sell in Indian bazars are now seldom seen. But in India itself, new coins are always turning up, so that there is no fear that novelties will cease just yet. Of course that portion of the history of India covered by Mr. Thomas's book is only a small one, not four hundred years, but it was a period that produced innumerable coins, and hence to the numismatist it will always be a time of great interest. It is a subject that has occupied my leisure hours for many years. My first supplement was published in 1880, and of course for several years before that, I was engaged in the study of 'The Chronicles.'

I cannot part with this branch of Numismatics without noticing one point. It seems to have been imagined that I was antagonistic to Mr. Thomas in publishing these supplements. Never was an idea so groundless. Mr. Thomas honoured me with his friendship; and when I was at home, I had the pleasure of an interview with him in which he spoke very kindly of my work on the supplements, and especially praised the drawings of the coins. In my remarks on his book, I have always given to it its due praise. It is a book of which any one might be proud. There is not a coin wrongly assigned, and I know of only one mistake in the reading of a coin. It was the first book on the subject and was not exhaustive. I have written six supplements to it, and they are by no means exhaustive. This does not, however, in any way lessen my esteem for the book or for its learned and most amiable author.

Rare Mughul Coins.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate V).

[Read May 1896.]

I thought, when I finished my "Copper Mogul Coins" a short time ago, that I had pretty well exhausted the subject; but I find it is not so. The following coins have come under my notice, since I finished that paper.

- | | | | |
|------------|--|--|-------------|
| (1) | ن اباد -
دار السلطنة
ضرب | والف
احدى
سنه | (1001 H.) |
| (2) | رها اباد -
دار السلطنة
ضرب | والف
احدى
سنه
شهور | (1001 H.) |
| (3) Silver | هميشه باد زدار العباد حي
۱۰۱۴ رواج سكه كابل بنام شاه
قديم (Kābul, 1014 H.)
سليم | | |
| (4) | كابل
فلوس | الهم
۴۱ | (41 Ilahī.) |
| (5) | دار الضرب كالپي
فلوس | (Kālpī mint)
ويك
هفتاد
نمصد و
سنه في | |
| (6) | گواليار
قلعه
(ضرب) | (Gwālīār)
(هشت)
شصت
نمصد
۹۶۸
سنه | (968 H.) |

(7)	دہلی حضرت فلوس ضرب	(Delhī)	فی تاریخ ۹۷۲ سنہ	(972 H.)
(8)	شاہ جہان فلوس		اکبر آباد ضرب	(Akbarābād.)
(9)	دارالخلافہ فلوس ضرب لکھنؤ	(Lucknow)	اللہ (اکبر) یکھزار سنہ ۱۰۰۰	(1000 H.)
(10)	فلوس دارالر - - - دو کام ضرب فلوس	(Dōgām)	اللہ اکبر یکھزار و یک سنہ	(1001 H.)
(11)	مسکہ چیتور ضرب	(Chitōr)	ھزار ۱۰۰۵ سنہ	(1005 H.)
(12)	فلوس ضرب		یک ھزار ۱۰۰۶ سنہ	(1006 H.)

These coins call for a few remarks. The year on Nos. 1 and 2 is plainly one thousand and one. Some time ago I came across, in one day, in the Amritsar bazar, two square rupees, both dated الف واحد. One of these is now in the British Museum, and one with my friend L. White King. What the mint may be I cannot conceive. Is it a capital بڑھان آباد? Coin (1) is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(2) belongs to Mr. Malabarwalla of Bombay.

(3) is a half rupee of Jahāngir's, struck at Kābul. It has on it a new Persian couplet. It is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(4) A new half dām of Akbar's, Kābul mint; it belongs to Mr. Ellis of Lahore.

(5) A new dām from the Kālpī mint, and is the property of the same untiring collector. We have some earlier mintages from this mint. We still want some of the Ilahī years of Akbar from this mint, which was so active in his early years.

(6) A new dām from the Gwālīār mint dated 968 H., and is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(7) A half dām of the Dehli mint, also belonging to the same Society. It is the only half dām from the Dehli mint that I have yet seen.

(8) is a coin belonging to Mr. Ellis, and probably struck by Shāhjahān at Agra or Akbarābād. Its style agrees with some of the issues of Shāhjahān I. I do not think it can be one of Shāhjahān II or Shāhjahān III. It is at any rate unique.

(9) This dām and the three following were found by me at Ludiāna. It is from the Lucknow mint. On its reverse it has 1000 in Persian words یک هزار, and in figures ۱۰۰۰. I have never seen a dām similar to this. Over the date is الله اکبر. The اکبر is not on this coin, but it comes on the following coin.

(10) is a Dōgām dām of 1001 H. I have now another Dōgām dām of 999 with الله اکبر on it in full. We may regard this as an ascription of praise or an exclamation of joy on Islām reaching its thousandth year. It is a novelty on Akbar's coins.

(11) a dām of Chitōr, dated 1005 H.

(12) I think is a dām of Nārñōl. Its date is undoubtedly 1006 H.

Besides these I have by me six other dāms whose mints I have not yet had time to decipher. And besides this I obtained a few weeks ago a fulūs of Farrukhsiyar struck at Kābul; and a few days ago a nim tanjah of Akbar's from the same mint: also a درختم شرعی of Aurangzib's from the Multān mint. And I have by me a small coin of Akbar's from the Dehli mint, in which the Ilahī year is ۳۵ سی و پنج in Persian words. Truly the coinage of the Mughuls seems exhaustless. I remember about a year ago a gentleman sending me some coins to read, and some were from the mint دارالقلوس محمدآباد. These were coins of Shāh 'Ālam II. and the mint is Banāras-Muḥammadābād. Were all these novelties in one Museum, what a show they would make? It is most annoying that they should be scattered all over the country in private collections. If all we now know about the coinage of the Mughuls were collected in one book, it would make a large and sumptuous volume.

Just as I had finished this, Mr. Ellis sent me No. 13, a gold coin weighing 5.5 grains. It has 'Fatḥpūr' on obverse, and name of coin not legible on reverse, perhaps 'Shāhī.'

Rare Kashmīr Coins.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate VI.)

[Read May, 1896.]

It is now several years, since I published my “Copper Coins of the Mahārājas and Sultāns of Kashmīr.” Since then I have seen many thousands more of their coins. Further acquaintance with them has not given me more exalted ideas of the art of the Kāshmiris. They certainly were the worst die-sinkers in the world. But die-sinkers are only mechanics, and from mechanics oppressed as were those whose homes were in Kashmīr, much could not be expected. I have not troubled myself much about getting Kashmīr novelties. Those drawn in the accompanying plate are almost the only new things I have seen in seventeen years. They are as follows:—

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (1) | حسن شاه
۸۷۶ | (876 H.) | السلطان | |
| (2) | سري نگر | (Sirinagar) | ۴ - اله
اذر | (4-Ilahī) |
| (3) | السلطان الا عظم
اسلام شاه | | سبع
ضرب کشمیر | (95) 7 H.
(Kashmīr) |
| (4) | यस स्वर | | देव | |
| (5) | ग (कन) | | — | |
| (6) | ۴۰ اله
امردار | (40th Ilahī.) | سري نگر
ضرب | (Sirinagar) |
| (7) | حیدر شاه
السلطان | | نائب خليفة الرحمن | not full |

(8)	حیدر شاہ السلطان	نائب خلیفہ اگر حرمین full.	
(9)	السلطان ۸۷۱۴	do. ۸۷۱۴	(874 H.)
(10)	حسن شاہ	ضرب السلطان	
(11)	نصیر الدین حسین باد شاہ	یک ہفتاد و ۹۷۱ نہ صد سندہ	(971 H., in words and figures.)
(12)	فتح شاہ	شہور	
(13)	محمد السلطان	السلطان ضرب	
(14)	اعظم محمد جالل الدین اکبر	ضرب کشمیر ۹۹۱۴	(Kashmīr 994 H.)

These coins call for but few remarks. The letters under some show their ownership when they were drawn. S.=Mrs. Stoker, G.=General Gosset, C.B., K.=L. White King, Esq., F.S.A.; R.=Rodgers. It will be seen that Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13 are halves of such coins as Nos. 3 and 11. Each king seems to have had a style of his own on these halves. These halves are seldom met with. There are none of them in the British Museum Catalogue, but in the Lahore Catalogue of my collection are several.

No. 3 is a copper coin of Islām Shāh Sūrī. This is the second one I have seen. He was never king in Kashmīr, as I have shown in my paper on the square silver coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. His coins are evidence of the conspiracy against the then ruler of Kashmīr, Mīrzā Ḥaidar Doghlat, the author of the Tārīkh-i-Rashidī.

No. 4, is a coin of Yasaskara. In my paper on the "Copper Coins of the Mahārājas of Kashmīr" I gave a coin on which the name is spelt Yaskara यस्कर. Both coins are exceedingly rare.

No. 5 is, I am inclined to think, a coin of Gulhana. I obtained

the coin of this man, given in General Sir A. Cunningham's *Mediæval Coins of India*, and this also along with No. 4, for Mr. King.

The dates 874 and 876 indicate the dates of Ḥaidar Shāh and his son Ḥasan Shāh respectively. I have seen these dates so often on the coins of these kings, that we must accept them as correct. I had a lovely gold mohur of Ḥasan Shāh son of Ḥaidar Shāh struck in Kashmīr in 876 H. The silver coins, too, given in my paper, bear these two dates. I do not think that they would, unless these were the actual dates when they were reigning.

No. 14 is a coin of Akbar's dated 994 H., which must be about the date of the final conquest of Kashmīr by Akbar's troops. I have seen Akbar's Kashmīr coins struck as early as 965, and one dated 987 H. These must be either complimentary coins, or else coins struck by factions who were plotting against their rulers and desirous of obtaining Akbar for their king.

I should like to see a complete collection of Kashmīr coins in some Indian Museum. They are not of much value, as I have shown elsewhere, for the assistance they render in fixing the chronology, but they are at any rate evidence of what was going on in Kashmīr, and of its condition and of the state of art. Of course visitors to Kashmīr purchase coins amongst other curiosities in the valley. Just lately I have received from one of these purchasers a list of the names of the kings of Kashmīr whose coins he had obtained. There were twenty of them, and not one was the name of a Kashmīr Rājā or Sultān. This shows how visitors are cheated. Lately, however, I had sent to me from the mint at Jammū over 6,000 coins to classify and value. They were real things, and if I have time before I leave India, I may send the Society an abstract of what I had then before me. It was a thorough numismatic feast, and I have not yet quite recovered from it.

Coins of Nīmrōz.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate VII.)

[Read May 1896].

Nīmrōz is a country we most of us read of first, when we waded through the pages of that book so well known to us all when we first came to India, the باغ و بهار. I do not think Mīr Aman knew much of Geography or History, though he may have written good Urdū. We learn little from him about Nīmrōz. The origin of the name is said to be this, that when Solomon visited this part (and of course he did; for the Takht-i-Sulaimān is named after him), he saw the whole country west of Qandahār full of water. He ordered jinns and fairies to fill it up, and they did so in half a day, *i.e.*, Nīmrōz. Hence the country is called Nīmrōz. But perhaps it is so called from its being half way between Shām (Syria, and evening, *i.e.*, sunset) and India, *i.e.*, the mid-day country. Its capital was Zaranj, and we have early Khalifa coins struck in that place. But the country was also called Sijistān, and this name is found also on coins; for Naṣr, the brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, ruled and coined there. Zaranj and Sijistān disappear from later coins, and in their stead appears the name Nīmrōz. This country, travellers tell us, was formerly densely inhabited, as is shown by the ruins of numerous cities still visible. There is no doubt about coins having been struck there. Three are figured on Pl. XXXII, of the second Appendix to the Catalogue of Oriental Coins, published by the British Museum, *viz.*, 248e, 248g and 248m. Two of these are gold. In the text they are called coins of the Shīrwān Shāhs. Dr. Codrington in his description of a hoard of coins found at Broach, in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society gives two gold coins, Nos. 28 and 29, Pl. III, but he frankly says, "I do not know to whom to attribute them." The mint is legible on them نيمروز. He makes some small mistakes in reading the legends on them. He reads

the date correctly, and makes both the coins of the 8th century of the Hījah. Some years ago I came across some Nīmrōz coins of the Ṣafavī of Persia; after that some coins of Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd, came into my hands. These were all in silver. Shortly afterwards I came across some copper Nīmrōz coins, and I purchased them from their owner who hailed from Qandahār. Then some plated coins came from the same city along with a gold coin, and I bought the lot. Some of these are described in my Lahore Museum Catalogue. I sold the gold coin to, I think, Mr. L. White King, along with some of the plated coins. The Ṣafavī coins are now dispersed, some being in the Lahore Museum and some in the British Museum. Coins 12* and 15a in the Supplement to the B. M. Catalogue of Persian coins, p. 265 and 256, were from me. It will thus be seen that I have been interested in coins from the Nīmrōz mint for some time. It will be remembered that in my paper on "Some coins from Qandahār" I gave some from this mint. Hence when the coins of the Society were sent up to me to be catalogued, I at once saw there were no less than 29 coins in silver and nine in copper from this mint.

The coins in the accompanying plate are all from the Nīmrōz mint,

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) | عز
بحق و
الدين | ضرب
نیمروز |
| (2) | عدل | ضرب
نیمروز |
| (3) | In scalloped circular area :—
ضرب
نیمروز
۸-۸ | In square area :—
the Kalimah. |

In margin :—

السلطان العادل شاه... الله ملكه

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (4) | In double circle :—
الملك
الا عظم عز الدنيا
والدين سلطان
نیمروز خلد ملكه | In square are a :—
the Kalimah.
In segments, the names of the
four companions.
In margin :—
ضرب نیمروز..... |
|-----|--|--|

(5) In circular area :—

الملک
 الا عظم عز
 الحق والدين
 کرمان محمود

Not given.

(6) Not given.

In square area :—
 the Kalimah.

In margin :—

ضرب نیمروز فی شہور سنہ.....

(7) Not given.

In square area :—
 the Kalimah.

In margin :—

(761 H.) ضرب نیمروز... لہور سنہ احدی ستین سبعمایہ

(8)

الملک
 الا عظم عز الحق
 والدين کرمان
 بن محمود

Not given.

(9) Not given, but
 as on (8)

In square, the Kalimah.
 ... نیمروز فی ... سنہ ثلاث (3 - H.)

(10) do.

As on (9), but margin :—

(76-H.) ضرب نیمروز..... و ستین و سبعمایہ

There can be no doubt about the coins Nos. 1 and 4 to 10 being coins of the same man. But I cannot find out who he is. He would be reigning just before the time of Taimūr; but in the histories of Taimūr I see no mention of him. The name of the king on coin No. 3 is unfortunately deleted. Coin No. 4 never had a king's name on it. One of the gold coins in the B. M. Catalogue Additions, Vol ii., is called قطب بحق والدين عز الحق والدين کرمان بن محمود. This must be the son of محمود بن کرمان. So we have here three kings' names and their country given. I cannot find in my limited library any mention of any one of them. I have given the coins. I leave the solution of the question as to who the men were who struck them to some one who is fortunate enough to possess a history, dealing with this part of the world at the time when the coins were struck. The coins at any rate show us how useful they can be in directing attention to kings and countries whose history is but little known.

Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṃha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Çaka.—
By NAGĒNDRA-NĀTHA VASU.

(With Plates VIII—XVIII).

[Read May, 1896.]

With the view of exploring the antiquities of Orissa, I went there in the winters of 1892, 1893 and 1894, and I succeeded in collecting a number of copper-plates and facsimiles of several historical inscriptions from places where very few scholars had turned their footsteps hitherto. The facts elicited from these documents will go far to prove that the history of Orissa as at present known must be reconstructed. I intended to publish these ancient records systematically and in their chronological order. But lately the owners of the copper-plates repeatedly asked me to return them and consequently I am compelled to publish the present plate first of all.

The owner of the copper-plate now exhibited vainly sought the aid of many Paṇḍitas of Utkala to decipher it:—My friend, Bābū Ārta-trāṇa Miçra, an inhabitant of Maudā, informed me of it, and I was enabled by his help to obtain possession of the plate. It is still in my charge.

The history of the discovery of the plate is as follows:—When the Kēndrapādā Canal of the Cuttaek District was being dug, a box made of a peculiar stone locally called Vaula-mālā, was found in the village of Kēndupātnā situated in the Kēndrapādā sub-division, 19 or 20 feet under ground, and buried in a heap of broken stones. It measured about 3 feet square, with a height of about 2 feet. It contained three sets of copper-plates, of seven each, so that in all there were 21 plates. The initial plate of every set is blank on the outer side and the inscription begins on the inner side, every other plate-leaf, except the seventh which is blank on both sides, is inscribed on both sides. The plates of each set are strung together by a copper-ring. At the joint of this ring is a circular copper-piece representing the *padmāsana*, or lotus-seat, surmounted by the figure of an ox in an inclined posture, the circum-

ference exhibiting a Tri-çūla,¹ an Aṅkuṣa,² a Ḍamaru,³ a crescent and the solar orb.

The plates are each $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad and $\frac{1}{5}$ inch thick. The circumference of the ring is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The circumference of the lotus-seat is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ox is 4 inches long and its height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The letters are $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length each. On the 11 sides of these plates there are 209 lines, and each line is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The holes made in these plates for stringing them together are an inch in diameter. The four lines engraved on the sides of these holes, are 10 inches long.

Not far from the spot where the box mentioned above was found there is a large tank: and close to this tank is a newly built temple dedicated to Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa. The box was placed in this temple. Close to the heap of stones under which it was obtained, there were three more heaps in a loose condition. From each of these was obtained a copper vessel. On the discovery of these copper vessels, the older inhabitants of the locality surmised that the three stone-heaps were the ruins of three stone-built temples, and that one of these temples contained the image of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa. After the demolition of that temple, it is said that the image was kept underneath a tree. After some time, a rich man of the place, built the present temple out of the ruins of the old ones, and placed the image of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa in it. On the lotus-seat of the image are inscribed two lines. The shape of the characters engraved on the copper-plates being exactly similar to that of the lines under reference; it has been conjectured by some that, the image of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa and the three old temples now in ruins have some connexion with the copper-plates. But so far as I have seen, there is nothing in these plates to support the conjecture.

The present copper-plate is a grant of Narasiṃha-dēva II, king of Utkala, dated Monday, 6th tithi of the bright half of the Siṃha (*i. e.*, Bhādra) month, in the Çaka year 1217 = 19th September, 1295 A.D., in the 21st year of his reign.

There is, however, a complete agreement between the verses of the two copper-plates of Nṛsiṃha-dēva IV, (from Plate I—IV)⁴ up to सच्चोत्रियेभ्यो ददौ with the first 94 verses of the present grant, except line 23rd of Plate IV of the second grant by the above king marked B. Of course, there are *variae lectiones* owing either to the carelessness of the engraver or to wrong decipherment.

¹ Trident of Maha-dēva.

² An elephant goad.

³ A musical instrument used by Maha-dēva.

⁴ See *J. A. S. B.* for 1895, Pt. I., p. 133-144.

The character of this grant may be described as Bengali of the Kuṭila type, of the 12th and 13th century A.D. The letters *k, kh, c, t, p, y, r, l, and v*, in many respects, resemble the corresponding letters in Viçva-rūpa-sēna's copper-plate, and the letters *a, ā, ē, g, j, d, t, th* and *m* are very similar to those of the modern Bengali character. The system of writing medial vowel-forms (ī, ē, ō, u, e, o, a, i, u) and compound words, resembles the method adopted in the inscriptions of the Sēna kings and that now followed in writing Bengali.

As regards orthography, the only points calling for remark are, that the (nasal) *ṅ* and (dental) *n* are sometimes employed instead of ānusvāra, as in *vaṅga*, (Pt. I, line 10), and in *sansarpad* (Pt. V. ob. line 4); and *ç* for *s* in the latter portion of the grant.

Of all the plates the reverse of the second is most particularly deserving of notice. The arrangement of certain letters from the 1st to the 18th line in this leaf is not similar to that in any other plate. Every letter of this leaf forms a curve with its mātṛā; whereas an acute angle is formed by the contact of the mātṛā with each letter in the other plates. More especially the four letters *th, n, p, m* and *h* of this portion perfectly agree with the Utkala characters of the 14th or 15th century. The letters of this portion, which bear no likeness to the Bengali, Nāgari or Maithili characters of that time, can be taken as an early form of the Utkalākṣara.

Here I quote the remarks of Mr. Beames on the origin of the Oriyā characters:—

‘Whether the Oriyās received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute....Assuming that they got their alphabet from Central, rather than from Northern India, the reason of its being so round and curling has now to be explained....The Oriyās and all the populations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tālapatra, or leaf of the fan-palm, or a palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*)....On these leaves, when dried and cut into proper lengths, they write with an iron style, or Lēkhanī, having a very fine sharp point. Now, it is evident that if the long, straight, horizontal mātṛā, or top line of the Dēva-nāgari alphabet, were used, the style in forming it would split the leaf, because, being a palm, it has a longitudinal fibre, going from the stalk to the point....it may suffice to say in general terms, that the Oriyā characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kuṭila character prevalent in Central India, and that its love of circular forms, common to it and the neighbouring nations, is due to the habit of writing on the Tālapatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style.’¹

¹ Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, *Intro.* p. 63 ff.

But inasmuch as a striking resemblance is found to exist in every respect except the mātrā, between the Bengali and Maithili characters of that period and most of the letters in the greater portion of this plate, it may be conjectured that the early Utkala-lipi took its rise from the ancient Bengali and Maithili character when the curve or circular mātrā was added to it. As in the course of time, the Bengali characters of the Sēna kings assumed their modern aspect, so the ancient letters of this plate have gradually developed into the present Oṛiyā characters.

The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse mixed. Like the other grant of this king dated 1218 Śaka, published by me in 1893¹ and like the plate of Nṛsimha-dēva IV, published in the Society's *Journal* in 1895, the present inscription can be divided into 5 parts. Bābū Manōmōhan Chakrabarti has discussed several points at length in his article on the inscription of Nṛsimha-dēva IV: I shall not repeat what he says. But the following points deserve some notice.

According to the grant of Nṛsimha-dēva IV, Mahārājas Anangabhīma-dēva II and Bhānu-dēva I held the reins of government for 33 and 17 years respectively. But both the grants of Nṛsimha-dēva II fix the respective periods of their reign at 34 and 18 years. The grant of Nṛsimha IV states that the name of Rāja-rāja's wife was Guṇa or Sadguṇa; but according to the plate under consideration, the name is Maṅkūṇa.

In addition to the above, the verses No. 84 and 86 should be especially mentioned; although they have escaped the notice of Manōmōhan Bābū.

रादा-वरेन्द्र-यवनौ-नयनाङ्गनाश्रुपूरेण दूरविनिवेशित-कालिमश्रीः ।

तद्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि नूनमसुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥ [V. 84.]

कुर्वन् प्रकाशमनिशं द्विजसाच कृत्वा मेरुं तुलापुरुषमुख्यमहार्थदानैः ।

स्यातुं सुरैः सह महत् कलयन्तिः कोणाकोणे कुटीरकमचीकरदुष्परशेः ॥

[V. 86.]

'The (white) river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rāḍhā and Varēndra, and rendered wayeless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch into the (black-watered) Yamunā.

¹ See Viçvakōṣa, Vol. V. (supplement to the word 'गङ्गेय'). For convenience' sake this grant will be marked A.

² Manōmōhan Bābū reads रादानरेन्द्रजनौ.

Shining day and night, making Meru over to the Brāhmaṇas in pious gifts, namely, the *tulāpuruṣa*, (and consequently the gods being deprived of their home), (King Nara-simha) built at Kōṇākōṇa (a place of great renown) a temple for the Sun to live in with the other gods.'

From the above it is plain that king Nṛsimha I conquered the Muḥammadan dominions of Rāḍha and Varēndra. The contemporaneous historian Minhāj-i-Saraj thus writes :—

'In this same year likewise (642 Hijra), the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsin, which had taken place the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhaṇawati territory on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwāl 642 H. (i.e. 1244 A. D.), the army of infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and pāyiks (foot-men) in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhaṇawati. Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhaṇ-ōr; and Fakhr-i-mulk, Karimu-d-din, Lāghri, who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-ōr, with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawati. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh &c.] and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels and they decamped.'¹

He again relates :—

'After he (Yüz-bak-i-Ṭughril Khān) went to that part, and brought that country under his jurisdiction, hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name Sāban-tar, the son-in-law of the Rāe, who, during the time of Malik 'Izzu-d-din, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān-Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇawati. In Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yüz-Bak's time, judging from the past, he [the Jāj-nagar leader] manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again, another time, Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yüz-Bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious.

'On a third occasion, Malik Yüz-Bak sustained a slight reverse, and a white elephant, than which there was no other more valuable in that part, and which was ruttish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar.'²

The battles which according to Minhāj's statement appear to have been fought under two Muḥammadan rulers, in reality took place successively in the time of the Utkala kings Ananḡa-bhīmā and his son Narasimha I.

¹ Col. Raverty's *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 740.

² *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 762-3.

The following is seen in the *Cātēṣvara*-inscription of *Anaṅga-bhīma* II: ¹—

विन्ध्याद्रेरधिसीमभीमतटिनीकुञ्जे तटेऽम्भोनिधे-
 विष्णुर्विष्णुरसावसाविति भयाच्चैतद्दिशः पश्यतः ।
 साम्राज्यं स परिश्रमेण न तथा वैखानसानामिदं
 विश्वं विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्घान-पृथ्वीपतेः ॥
 कण्ठोत्तंसित-सायकस्य सुमटा नेकाकिनो निव्रतः
 किं ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्दुसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।

‘The *Vaikhānasas* could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of *Viṣṇu* to the extent to which the idea was realised by the *Tumghāna* king, (*i.e.* *Tughril-i-Tughān Khān*), when he began, apprehending *Viṣṇu* here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the *Bhīmā*, at the skirts of the *Vindhya* hills and on the sea-shores. He alone fought against the *Muḥammadan* king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skilful warriors. His heroism transcends description.’

According to the above inscription, it was *Viṣṇu*, the minister of *Anaṅga-bhīma* II, who fought a furious battle against the *Muḥammadan* king, *Tumghāna* by name. The ministers of the *Hindū* kings of *Utkala* used to get the title of *Sāntrā*; even now in some places in *Orissa*, the eldest sons of the minister-families are enjoying that title. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that it is *Viṣṇu-sāntrā* who has been described by the *Muḥammadan* historian by the name of *Sābantar* only. *Minhāj* says that this *Sāntrā* was a son-in-law of the *Jāj-nagar* or *Utkala* king; but the *Cātēṣvara* Inscription² makes it clear that he was a *Brāhmaṇa* by caste. It was not then customary for a *Brāhmaṇa* to take a *Kṣatriya* girl for his wife. Very likely *Narasimha-dēva* I, son of *Anaṅga-bhīma* II, in company with *Viṣṇu*, attacked *Rāḍha* and *Varēndra*, (*i.e.*, the territory of *Lakṣmaṇāvatī*) at that time. It seems that *Minhāj*, by mistake, has described the son to be the son-in-law. *Nṛsiṃha-dēva* I, in his father’s life-time, fought many battles with the *Yavanas*; and after he ascended the throne, attacked the *Muḥammadans* several times. The glory of his heroism has been narrated in the 84th verse of the present plate. It was this *Nṛsiṃha-dēva* who erected the *Black Pagoda* of *Kōṇāraka*, famed far and wide as one of the wonders of the *Hindū* world. The 86th verse of the present plate proves that

¹ See *Viṣṇu-kōṣa*, Vol. VI, Art. “*Cātēṣvara*.”

² I hope to be able to publish this important inscription in our *Society’s Journal*.

prior to the time of Nṛsiṃha I, Kōṇākōṇa was the name of Kōṇarak. The place subsequently became famous under the name of Kōṇārka or Kanāarak after the sun-temple had been built there.

The places mentioned in the Copper-plate, exist up to this day, under the same names with very slight variations. For instances—Ḍērā-ṣiṣaya is now known as Ḍērā-ṣi (on sheet 115 of the *Indian Atlas* it is mentioned as Darabee, Lat. 20°30'—20°35'N. and Long. 86°18'45"—86°30'E.) and Svāṅga-ṣiṣaya as Sooang Lat. 20°16' 21"N. and Long. 86°11'45"—86°13' 50"E. (on sheet 116 of the *I. A.*). The granted village Ēḍara is now known as Ēḍara (Aindare of the *Indian Atlas*), situated on the north of Talāṅga (Teelung of the *I. A.*) Lat. 20°33'30" and Long. 86°20'N. Khaṇḍa-sāhi and Sunāilo are situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Ēḍara and one mile from the Kendupaṭṇā lock. But they are now included in different pargannahs. It may be worth mentioning that the village of Sunāilo is very near to the place where the Copper-plate was found.

The reading of the original and its translation are given below.

Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṃha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Çaka.

Plate-leaf No. 1, reverse.

L. 1. । औ नमो नारायणाय ॥

लक्ष्मीपादसरोरुह [द्वय]¹ मदः श्रेयांसि दासीष्ट वः
प्रसृज्जन्नखरश्मिकेसरश्चैर्भास्वन्न-

L. 2. खालीदलं ।

विस्पष्टं प्रतिविम्बितः प्रणमणैः क्रीडापराधोद्भवैः
कृष्णो यन्नखदीप्तिषु भ्रमरतां धत्ते स लक्ष्मीप्रियः ॥ [1]

L. 3. क्षीरावधर्मयितात् सुरासुरगणैः प्रादुर्भवन्ती रमा-

शम्भुब्रह्मपुरन्दरप्रभृतीषु प्रख्यातकीर्तिष्वपि ।
पश्यत्स्वम्बुजना-

L. 4. भमीशमहणोल्लोकत्रयाह्लादिनं ।

भङ्गाली सहकारमेति हि वने फुल्लेन्यशाखिन्यपि । [2]

तन्नाभीसरसीरुहोद्भववि-

L. 5. धेरत्रिर्वभ्रवासुत-

स्रन्द्रस्रन्द्रिकया प्रकाशितजगत् सम्भूतवान्नेत्रयोः ।

त्रैलोक्यसैनैकदक्षतिमिरयासित्वसा-

¹ The bracketed portions are taken from A.

² Read ०ति ।

- L. 6. न्येऽपि यो
लक्ष्म व्याजि दधत्तमप्रतिवपुः सूर्याधिको निर्मलः ॥ [3]
श्रीदेवीसोदरत्वादन्तसखतया कल्पवृक्षानुज-
- L. 7. त्वा-
ल्लोकानन्दस्विधाता तिमिरविषहरः सर्वदैवोपभोग्यः ।
तत्तत्संसर्गलाभात्तदधिगतगुणं स्वाङ्गनिष्ठं दधानः
स्व-
- L. 8. खैतन्निर्मलत्वं जगति विजयते दर्शयन्नूनमिन्दुः ॥ [4]
वंशे तस्य न्नरेश्वराः समभवन्तेषां गुणाश्चन्द्रशः
प्रोत्फुल्ला इ-
- L. 9. व यत् पुराणपथगास्तत्रापि नो सम्मिताः ।
तत्तत् काव्यपथं श्रितास्त्रिभुवने मूर्तिन्दधाना इव
भ्रा-
- L. 10. म्यन्तीव सचेतनाः श्रुतिगृहे विश्रम्य विश्रम्य च ॥ [5]
प्रत्येकं शशिवङ्गभूपतिभुजव्यापारसंकी-
- L. 11. र्त्तनं
कर्तुङ्गः क्षमते क्षितौ बहुमुखो यत्रार्जुनस्यैव हि ।
दोर्दण्डार्जितकीर्तिवर्सनपरं तद्भा-
- L. 12. रतं प्रामव-
त्तस्मादाह्वयमात्रमादिन्दुपतिश्रेणीक्रमास्त्रिगुण्यते ॥ [6]
तथाहि चन्द्राद्बुधः । बुधा-
- L. 13. दनलः अनलात् पुरुरवाः
पुरुरवसो वायुः । वायोर्नृधु^४घः । नधु^५घाद्ययातिः ।
ततस्तुर्व्वसुः । ततो गार्ग्य-
- L. 14. यः । ततो विरोचनः । ततः
साव्येद्यः । ततो भास्वान् । ततो दत्तसेनः । ततः सौम्यः ।
ततोश्च दत्तः ततः सौ-

^१ Read न० ।

^२ Read आयोः ।

^३ Read आयुः ।

^{४, ५} Read ०ङ् ।

- L. 3. दुदगमत् कूर्मवतारो हरिः ॥ [10]
 कूर्मस्वामिनि साक्षिणि त्रिनयने तस्मिन् महेन्द्रं गते
 गोकर्सेऽपि महोदधौ वि-
- L. 4. यति वा सूर्य्ये तथेन्द्रावपि ।
 कालिङ्गाम्भुवमाहरद्भुजवलादन्योपभुक्तां चिरं
 लक्ष्मीमेत्यथ कास्तुतिर्व्वद ततो गङ्गा-
- L. 5. न्वयस्याहवे ॥ [11]
 तत्रासीद्वृषकर्त्तासौ कामार्णवमह्यैपतिः ।
 यस्येति पुत्रपौत्राद्या राजानः ख्यातविक्रमाः ॥ [12]
 शास्त्रा-
- L. 6. र्थनिष्ठितमतिर्दिषदन्तकारी
 सर्वार्थिवर्गपरितोषणहेतुवर्गः ।
 आचारतोऽपि मुनिपुङ्गवमा[र्गचारी
 त]-
- L. 7. स्मादभृन्नृपवरो भुवि वज्रहस्तः ॥ [13]
 न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि
 स वज्रहस्तस्त्रिकलिङ्गनाथः ।
 को वज्र[हस्ता]-
- L. 8. दपरः पृथिव्या-
 वज्रम्यतदारयितुं समर्थः ॥ [14]
 व्याप्तिर्गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य यशसा दिक्चक्रवाले शशि-
 [प्रायेणा]
- L. 9. मलिनेन यस्य भुवनप्रज्ञादसम्पादिना ।
 सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्कपटलैः कुम्भस्थलीप[ट्ट]-
- L. 10. के-
 ख्यालिम्यन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान् ॥ [15]
 महिषौ नङ्गमा तस्य पार्व-
- L. 11. तीव पिनाकिनः ।
 तस्मात्तस्यामभृद्दीरो राजराजो मह्यैपतिः ॥ [16]
 स राजराजो द्विज-

- L. 12. राजकान्ति
भुजङ्गराजाननवत् प्रकीर्तिः ।
श्रीमत्तयाधः कृतराजराजः
सुविक्रमन्यकृ-
- L. 13. तदेव[राजः] ॥ [17]
तस्याग्रमहिषीराज्ञो नाम्नाभूद्वाजसुन्दरी ।
लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव चन्द्रस्येव तु रोहिणी ॥ [18]
ततस्तस्या-
- L. 14. मभूदेवश्चोडगङ्गो नरेश्वरः ।
क्षौणीभूत् पक्षविच्छिद्यै दिवीन्द्रात् कुलिशं यथा ॥ [19]
धात्री तस्य सरस्वती समभवन्ननं
- L. 15. नचेत् पीतवान्
तत्सारस्वतमार्थवालकतमः श्रीचोडगङ्गः पयः ।
तादृग्वेदमतिः कथं निपुणातां शास्त्रेषु तादृक्
- L. 16. कथं
तादृकाथकृतिः कथं परिणतिः शिल्पेषु तादृक् कथं ॥ [20]
क्षौणीं दिक्पाल[1]शेषामयमकृतपदद्वन्द्वमेत-
- L. 17. स्य वैरि-
क्ष्माभृच्चूडाश्रियाप्तं स्तुतिरिति कियती चोडगङ्गेश्वरस्य ।
नूनं पूर्यः सुधांशुः परन्तपधवलच्छत्रवु-
- L. 18. द्यापहर्ता
मामित्यङ्गस्य वृद्धिं त्यजति यत इव त्रस्तचित्तः प्रवीरात् ॥ [21]
गृह्णाति¹स्म करं भूमेर्गङ्गागतमग-
- L. 19. ङ्गयोः ।
मध्ये पश्यत्सु वीरेषु प्रौढः प्रौढस्त्रिया इव ॥ [22]
प्रतिभटकरशस्त्रथाह्वतिस्त्राङ्गनिर्य-
द्रुधिरमवनि-
- L. 20. निष्ठं नो भवेद्यत्तदैव ।
निजकर[धृत]शस्त्रच्छिन्नभिन्नाङ्गमेता-
नकृतधरणिशय्यान् दन्दयुद्धेषु गङ्गः ॥ [23]
य-

- L. 10. य मा चल त्वमपि भो व्यालेन्द्र धौर्य्यम्बह
त्वम्पृथ्वि स्थिरताम्भज त्वमधुना ब्रह्माण्ड गाढं भव ।
श्री-
- L. 11. गङ्गाधिपसिंहविसरङ्घोषाज्जगद्धापिनो
दिङ्नागेषु भयाच्चलत्सु जगती कम्पेत
- L. 12. वा यत्क्रमात् ॥ [29]
आरम्या नगरात् कलिङ्गजवलप्रत्युग्रभग्नारुति
प्राकारायततोरणप्र-
- L. 13. भृतितो गङ्गातटस्थात्ततः
पार्थास्त्रैर्युधि जर्जरीकृतनमद्राधेयगात्राकृति-
भेन्दाराधिपतिर्गतो रणभु-
- L. 14. वो गङ्गेश्वरानुजुतः ॥ [30]
ब्रह्माण्डादहिरस्य कीर्त्तिपयसा लिप्तं न वा भाविने
दत्तश्चार्थिजनाय हेमनिचयः सङ्ग-
- L. 15. ल्पने वा बहु ।
निर्द्धारिपरश्च¹³ भावितनवस्तस्य प्रतापैर्न वा
किम्वा नो कृतवानयं स्तुतिपदं चक्रेथ गङ्गे-
- L. 16. श्वरः ॥ [31]
वर्षाणां सप्ततिस्त्रीरः क्षोणीसम्भोगमाचरत् ।
दिङ्नायकान् प्रतीहारान् विधायाश्रासु सर्व्वतः ॥ [32]
कि-
- L. 17. आप्ता महिषी तपोभिरतुलैश्रीचोङ्गङ्गेन सा
देवैस्तुत्यगुणैर्विभूषिततनुः कस्तूरिकामोदिनौ ।
- L. 18. नाविष्टः पृथिवीपतिः प्रभवतौत्यस्मिन् हरौ वासुवो
रक्षार्थङ्कृतजन्मनि स्वयमसौ लक्ष्मीप्रसूताथवा ॥ [33]
त-
- L. 19. स्यान्ततोजनि जगत्त्रितयैकवीरः
कामार्णवस्त्रिजगदेकवदान्य एषः ।
सूर्य्यप्रतापविभवेन जगत्प्रसि-

L. 20.

द्व-

कीर्त्तिः शशाङ्कमधरीक्षतवान्विशुद्धा ॥ [34]
गङ्गेशसूनुर्विबुधाश्रमस्य
दृष्यद्विषदंशविभेदिशक्तिः ।

Plate-leaf III, obverse.

L. 1. [कामार्णवस्यास्य कुमारकत्व]

न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि ॥ [35]

प्राप्योदयं शशाङ्कस्य वर्द्धतां नामवारिधिः ।

वर्द्धते कीर्त्ति-

L. 2. चन्द्रोयं चित्रं कामार्णवोदये ॥ [36]

वेदतुथ्योमचन्द्रप्रमितशकसमा प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे

चापस्थेन्य[ग्रहौघे वलव]-

L. 3. ति रिपुषु [प्रक्षयं प्राप्तवत्सु] ।

तस्मिन्भूद्धाभिषिक्ते नृपवरतनये सर्वलोकैकनाथे

श्रीमत् कामार्णवेशे जग]-

L. 4. इवदि[दं तत्तदानन्द]पूर्णं ॥ [37]

क्षीरार्णवादजनि चन्द्रकलेति वार्त्ता

कामार्णवात्तु सकलेन्दुदिवाकराभं ।

की[र्त्तिप्र]-

L. 5. तापमिथुनं सहकारिलोके

स्लिध्यत्यहो परन्तपाननुरागशून्यान् ॥ [38]

यस्यासिनिर्दलितवैरिकरौन्ध्र[कुम्भ-

नि]-

L. 6. र्मुक्तमौक्तिकफलान्यष्टगुक्षितानि ।

कामार्णवस्य रिपुसङ्गतिहेत्वकाले

सन्ध्याप्रभातभगणा[इव भान्ति]-

L. 7. यु[द्धे] ॥ [39]

दृष्यद्वैरिचमूर्मया कवलिता नैवं मयास्वादिते-

त्यन्योन्यङ्गलहे तु निर्णयविधौ खड्गप्रता[पेक्ष्या]

- L. 8. [मा]ध्यस्थं गमितेव निर्मलतरा कीर्त्तिर्यदीयात्रवी-
म्यालोचेहमहद्विरित्युपगता धातुः श्रुतौरीदरात् ॥ [40]
अस्मा-
- L. 9. क्षीत् स हिरण्यगर्भमपश्यं लोकं महेशः पुरे-
त्युत्पन्नं प्रवदन्ति ये च वदनव्रातानि-
- L. 10. रुद्धो धुना ।
तेषां यत्र हिरण्यगर्भमकरोत् कामार्णवैशस्ततः
संपन्नं जनितं ज[ग]-
- L. 11. द्यत इह प्रत्यक्षतः प्राणिनां ॥ [41]
समाभ्योधीन्वहन्ती क्षितिरतितरला नाग[कूर्मेश्वरा]-
- L. 12. णां
साहाय्यं वाञ्छतीयं तदपि पुनरयं कल्पितस्तत्र भारः ।
धात्रा कामा[र्णवाख्यः सर]
- L. 13. नि[जतुलनां निर्द]यः स्वर्णभारै-
र्भूयोभूयस्तुलायास्थित [इति] [धरणे]र्भारबाहुल्यमाप्तुं ॥ [42]
[ध्वस्तदुष्टं जनाकौ]-
- L. 14. स्मिं विद्वज्जनमनोहरं ।
दशाब्दानकरोद्राज्यं कामार्णवमहौपतिः ॥ [43]
श्रीचोडगङ्गन्तपते[र्म्महिषी ततो]
- L. 15. न्या-
तस्येन्दिरा रविकुलोद्भवराजपुत्री
याद्यापि धातुरूपमाजनि सुन्दरीणां
सेयं सुधांशुवदना खय[मेव जाता] ॥ [44]
- L. 16. यद्रूपशीलगतिवर्णनया प्रसिद्धा
दृष्टान्तभूर्गिरिसुतेत्यभिधावदोषः ।
नास्त्येव चण्डरुचिका[महरो यदत्र
तामि]-
- L. 17. न्दिरामुदवहद्भुवि चोडगङ्गः ॥ [45]
तस्यान्ततः समजनि क्षितिनाथनाथः
श्रीराघवः [परनरेश्वरदर्पमर्दौ ।
यत्पट्टबन्ध]-

L. 18. नविधिश्चवणातिभौताः
सर्वं नृपाः स्वहृदिकम्पमवाप्तवन्तः ॥ [46]

श्रीराघवे [राजनि चित्रमेत-
त्तेजोविहीनः क्षि]-

L. 19. तिपालवर्गः ।
तत्पादसेवाकृतदेहसिद्धि-
र्मित्रीभवत्येव समस्त एषः ॥ [47]

प्रौढारि-[प्रहति]-प्राकारविहितप्राचण्ड्यमन्त्रीभ-

L. 20. व-
दोर्दण्डोपमितिप्रगल्भविषयः प्राग्भूतवानर्जुनः ।
संप्रत्याहवरङ्गसङ्गतारिपुश्रेणीशिरःक-

Plate-leaf III, reverse.

L. 1. नृक-
क्रीडासक्तभुजः शरासनभृतां चित्रोपमा राघवः ॥ [48]
जगति परशुरामः प्रादुरासीद्वितीयः
किमुरिपु-

L. 2. कुलहन्ता स्वाज्ञयाच्छन्नलोकः ।
क्षि[र्]तवितरणदीक्षासक्तहस्तः प्रतापा-
दपि दशशतवाह्यस्य शत्रुर्वि-

L. 3. नाश्री ॥ [49]
भेदं भेदमरातिकुञ्जरघटाक्षोणीभ्रपङ्क्तिरणे
पायं पायमसृक् पयांसि बद्धधा श्रीराघवा-

L. 4. सिः क्षणात् ।
शुभ्रं शुभ्रमिवोदहन्विजयति^१ कीर्त्तिप्रदानं परं
चन्द्रं चन्द्रिकया प्रपूषत्तरया संसेव्यमानाकृ-

L. 5. तिः ॥ [50]
दुर्गेषु दावदहनं क्षितिभृत्सु वचं
माद्यत् करौन्द्रघटना विधिसिंह एषः ।
विदेविभूमिपतयो नि-

¹ Read पङ्क्तौ ।

^२ Read विजयते ।

- L. 6. वसन्ति यच्च
 श्रीराघवक्षितिपतिर्विततप्रभावः ॥ [51]
 श्रीराघवो धराधीशः क्षोणीपालप्रशिरोमणिः ।
 अ-
- L. 7. करोञ्चाज्य¹मब्दानामुद्दामोदशपंच च ॥ [52]
 तस्य श्रीचोड़गङ्गक्षितिवलयपतेर्व्यंशसन्तानवल्ली-
 कन्दश्रीचन्द्र-
- L. 8. लेखा स्फुटमदितिखिव श्रेयसी कश्यपस्य ।
 तस्यामुद्दामधामक्षयितदिनमणिर्ज्जिवाव्राजरा-
- L. 9. जो
 राजन्यक्षोदलीला तिलकितमहिमयाप्तदिक्चक्रवालः ॥ [53]
 तस्मिन्दिग्विजयप्रया-
- L. 10. णरशिके² संरम्भ शुम्भचमू
 संक्षुप्तक्षितिति³चक्रपाङ्शुपटलप्राग्भारवत्यम्बरे ।
 भूसं-
- L. 11. स्पर्शष्टणावशाद्दिनमणेरुच्चैः क्षुतं सप्तिभिः
 स्वभ्यस्तं सुरसिन्धुरेण धरणीपट्टेर-
- L. 12. दोहट्टनं ॥ [54]
 चोड़गङ्गनरेन्द्रस्य सहुरुद्दामविक्रमः ।
 राजराज इति ख्यातोरा-
- L. 13. जराजो महीपतिः ॥ [55]
 विश्वं क्रोडयति प्रगल्भवयसि प्रालेयशैलद्युतौ
 यद्यद्यादृगभूदभूतसदृशं सन्त-
- L. 14. स्तदाकर्ष्यतां
 धात्री पीठति लिङ्गति सुरचलः प्रासादति त्वद्यशो-
 दिङ्नाथाः प्रतिमन्ति यस्य परितः अद्भुत-
- L. 15. पदं भङ्गति ॥ [56]
 आनन्दं विदधाति चेतसि भवत् कीर्त्तिर्गुणग्राहिणः
 सूते दोहदमर्थिनः सुमनसि श्रीराजराज भ्रु-

¹ Read चकरोद्राज्य । ² Read रशिके । ³ Omit ति ।

- L. 16. वं ।
 सेयङ्कर्मपथं समेत्यहृदये शल्यायते वैरिणां
 स्वात्मेच्छानुविधायिनां न हि [f]नजो भावः क्वचिद्दृश्यते ॥ [57]
- L. 17. तस्यां [यो] भुवि पंचविङ्शतिसमाः क्षमापाललक्ष्मीधवः
 कृत्वा जित्वरचापचंचलभुजादम्भोलिरुर्वीपतिः ।
 राज्यं प्राज्य-
- L. 18. यशस्तुषारकिरणश्रेणीरसादासना-
 दुदुच्छत् पुरुहूतगीतचरितश्रीराजराजोन्मपः ॥ [58]
 तस्यानुजोन्मपति-
- L. 19. राजपदेभिषिक्तः
 सूक्तिप्रियः परिमितादिनृपप्रशस्तिः ।
 पृथ्वीपतिः कलिमलोज्झितधर्मशुद्धः
 का-
- L. 20. र्थक्षमः प्रभुरसावनियङ्कभीमः ॥ [59]
 वीराधिम्लितसंगराद्रिप्रिखरे श्रंखस्वनाश्र[ī][f][m]ते
 कुंतोद्विन्न-

Plate-leaf IV, obverse.

- L. 1. महैभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्तावलीपुञ्जिते ।
 हर्षादुग्रनिजप्र[तापदहने खङ्गश्रुवा विदिषां
 राज्ञामान]-
- L. 2. न पङ्कजानि नृपतिर्गतानयद्यः श्रियं ॥ [60]
 क्षीराब्धेरमृतात् सुरासुर[भुजव्यापारविद्धोभितात्
 च]-
- L. 3. न्द्रस्यार्द्धमभूत्तदप्यधिपपावीशानमेकं किल ।
 चञ्चद्वाहुवलेन संगरभुवि त्वत्खङ्गधा[राजला]-
- L. 4. ज्ञातस्त्वष्टदिगीश्वरान् पृथुयशचन्द्रसमालिङ्गति ॥ [61]
 यत्प्रयाणसमुद्भूतरजःसंपूर्[रितेस्वरे] ।
- L. 5. अभूद्विरदराजस्य धूलीमदरिता तनुः ॥ [62]
 दशवर्षाणि वीरोसौ निर्जितारातिमण्डलः ।
 [अनङ्गभीम]-

- L. 6. भूपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत् ॥ [63]
 प्रौढानर्गलविक्रमः कुलगृहं यो दग्धनीतिश्रियः
 सत्याचारविचारचारुचरि-
- L. 7. तपुग्यैकपारायणः ।
 तस्यासीदनियङ्गभीमनृपते रद्धांशलक्ष्मी स्वयं
 स्नेहस्यातिशयेन पट्टमहिषी वाघल्लदेवी
- L. 8. भुवि ॥ [64]
 तुलितपितृगुणौघः सूनुरासीदमुष्या
 निर[रि]तश्रयिततेजा यौवनावामराज्यः ।
 प्रणतनृपतिचूडारत्न-
- L. 9. रोचिः पिशङ्गी- [65]
 हतचरणसरोजो राजराजोन्मत्तपालः ॥
 यस्योद्यद्वाजिहृन्दप्रखर[खुर]-
- L. 10. पुटाघातनिर्दारितोर्वी [66]
 संभूतं भूरिभास्वत्करनिकरसमास्कृतसान्द्रप्रयाणं ।
 विल्ली-
- L. 11. र्णङ्गणतालाहतिभिरविततोन्मत्तसेनागजाना-
 मश्टानां दिग्गजानां मुखपटु-
- L. 12. लनामादधे धूलिजालं ॥ [66]
 यस्मिन् प्रासति प्रासितारिनिकरे सम्यक्समुद्राम्बरां
 पृथ्वीम्पा-
- L. 13. र्थिवपुङ्गवे नयगुणैः श्रीराजराजे नृपे ।
 चक्र¹ माधव एव तैर्दण्डमधिकं कौक्षेयके चिन्तनं
 प्रास्त्राभ्यासविधौ वि-
- L. 14. धेयजडतः काले कलिः श्रूयते ॥ [67]
 यत् कीर्त्तिदृग्जल[नि]धिर्भुवनान्तरालं
 संज्ञायदूरतरमुच्छलितः स भाति ।
- L. 15. तारागणाः स्फुटरुचो गगने समन्तात् [68]
 श्रूयन्तीतिश्रूयन्ती² तरलाइव विस्फुरन्ति ॥
 त्यागे प्रीत्यै च सत्ये च कर्मा

- L. 16. र्जुनयुधिष्ठिरैः
 सदृशोयं महावीरो राजराजोनराधिपः ॥ [69]
 राजराजोनरपतिर्दृशसप्त च वत्स-
- L. 17. रान्
 भुवि राज्यश्रियं मुक्ता स्वाराज्याय प्रतस्थिवान् ॥ [70]
 चालुक्यकुलसंभृता वेला सौन्दर्यवारिधेः
 नाम्ना
- L. 18. मङ्गणदेवीति महिषी तस्य भूपतेः ॥ [71]
 तस्यामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः
 श्रीमानयं भूभटनङ्गभीमः ।
 विरा-
- L. 19. जते कौर्त्तिसुधातरङ्गै
 र्द्वैतासु दिग्भित्तिषु यत्प्रशस्तिः ॥ [72]
 यस्यानर्गलदोर्विलासलहरीलावण्यवैरि-
- L. 20. व्रज
 कन्दत् पौरवधूविलोचनपथः पूरैर्द्वरा दन्तुरा ।
 किञ्चित्त्यागतरङ्गभङ्गिकलनैः पाथो-

Plate-leaf IV, reverse.

- L. 1. धियानोत्सवा-
 द्वीडावकितकन्धरः स भगवान्मन्ये पुराणोमुनिः ॥ [73]
 कल्लम्भोः कलिरस्मि किन्नु वि-
- L. 2. मनाः कस्मै निवेद्यात्मनः
 शोकाम्भोधिमपाहरामि कलया किमेत्सिनो मां हरिं ।
 यद्येवं कल-
- L. 3. यास्मदीयसमयोत्क्षेपाय गङ्गान्वये
 जातः श्रीमदनङ्गभीमनृपतिः सोन(र्यौ)भूतोमम ॥ [74]
 ध्याना-
- L. 4. नुबन्धनिविडप्रसरप्रमोदं
 माध्वीकमुग्धमहृणं हृदयारविन्दं ।
 देवः पुराणपुरुषः परिरभ्य

- L. 5. यस्य
रोलम्बडम्बरकलां कलयाञ्चकार ॥ [75]
लक्ष्मीरक्षसौविदक्षपदवीं प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां
प्राणाक-
- L. 6. र्षणरज्जुविभ्रमतुलामुद्दाममानन्दयन् ।
संग्रामस्थलकेलिताण्डवकलाप्राणित्यमामण्डयन्
यस्या-
- L. 7. यज्ञगदद्भुतैकविलसत् क्रीडानटः सायकः ॥ [76]
यस्यानर्गलविक्रमार्जितयशः क्षीरोददानोर्मि-
- L. 8. मि-
र्दातारः किलकामगोप्रभृतयः प्रोत्सारितादूरतः ।
किंचापरहिरण्यगर्भकलना वैदग्ध्य-
- L. 9. माकर्णयन्
लज्जालोलचतुर्भुखाक्षियुगलो मन्ये महान् पद्मभूः ॥ [77]
येनाभि-
- L. 10. धेकसमयः कलितत्रयेण
नीतस्तुलापुरुषदानकलानुबन्धिः ।
लब्धापि
- L. 11. न क्षि[ति]रमुष्यमुदे तथाभूत्
यादृग्दिजातिजनशासनदानकेलिः ॥ [78]
आक-
- L. 12. र्षताहृदयमेणविलोचनाना-
माधुन्वता च परितः परिपार्थिवानां ।
- L. 13. अर्थान्वयप्रणयिना कृतिनामनङ्ग-
भीमप्रसिद्धिरमुना विदधे नृपेण ॥ [79]
जगाम धाम देवानां स
- L. 14. भवेव¹ सेवकप्रियः
भुक्त्वा भुजप्रतापेन चतुस्त्रिंशत्समाः क्षमां ॥ [80]
श्रीकस्तुरादेयामदि-

- L. 15. तौ तस्माच्च कश्यपादूर्व्यां ।
जगदुद्धर्तुञ्जातः पातकहन्ता वीरनरशिंहः¹ ॥ [81]
असुरेन्द्रशोणित-
- L. 16. निवेशविश्रुता-
पनिनीषयैष बहुदानवारिभिः ।
करमात्मनस्तमधुना विशोधय-
न्नरशिंह² एष ज-
- L. 17. गतिस्फुटोभवत् ॥ [82]
श्वेतातपत्रसितचामरचारुमूर्त्ति-
दिग्दन्तिदण्डपरिमण्डलमण्डपस्य ।
अ-
- L. 18. क्लृप्तस्य सुतभावनया भवान्या
सिंहासने जगति यस्य पदन्सदैव ॥ [83]
राजावरेन्द्रवयनौ³ नयनां-
- L. 19. जनाश्रु-
पूरेण दूरविनिवेशितकालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा
गङ्गापि नूनममुना
- L. 20. यमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥ [84]
भुजमुवि गिरयोद्यौ यस्य भूसौन्द्रभर्तुः
क्षितिभरणसमर्थाः किञ्च दिक्कुञ्जरे-

Plate-leaf V, obverse.

- L. 1. न्नाः ।
अतुलयदिहसस्वच्चेत् तुलापुरुषेण
क्व भवतु कनकाद्रिर्देवतानां गृह्णाम्भूत् ॥ [85]
कुर्वन् प्रका-

¹ Read सिंह । ² Read सिंह ।

³ Correct reading is यवनौ according to A.

- L. 2. श्रमदिशं दिजसाच्च कृत्वा
मेरुं तुलापुरुषमुख्यमहार्थदानैः ।
स्थातुं सुरैः सह महत्कलयन्ति को-
- L. 3. णा-
कोणे कुटीरकमचीकरदुष्णरश्मेः ॥ [86]
अष्टाशां चक्रवालभ्रमणरश्मिहायाससम्भावितक्षुत्-
क्षा-
- L. 4. रेक्षदन्वदस्योपगमितमपि लंघयित्वा सुराब्धिं ।
सर्पिः सन्सर्प्यदायुर्दधिमधुरमथास्त्राद्य(दु)द्ये-
- L. 5. न दृष्ट्वा
यत्कीर्तिः कान्तमूर्तिः शलिल¹ निधिमथा कामसारासतीव² ॥ [87]
कृत्वा निर्मथितद्विषदसु-
- L. 6. मतीमब्दास्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्
भुक्त्वा भोगमनुत्तमं नरपतिर्दोर्गर्वांसर्वङ्कषः ।
स्नेहात्यन्तविना कृ-
- L. 7. तोन्तिमदशामासाद्यदीपोपमः
प्राप्तः कालपतङ्गपुङ्गववशं यातस्सनिर्वाणतां ॥ [88]
तस्य
- L. 8. श्रीमान् सुदिनविधये मालाचन्द्रात्मजायां
सीतादेव्यामजनि तनुजो भानुवद्भानुदेवः ।
- L. 9. पद्मोल्लासम्विदधदतुलं कैरवग्लानिमुच्चै-
र्दृत्रध्वंसौ परधरणिभृन्मौलिवि-
- L. 10. न्यस्तपादः [89]
प्रत्युज्जीवनकारणैर्जनपदस्याभ्यस्तनीत्यागमै-
र्दृष्टादृष्ट-
- L. 11. फलप्रदेन विधिना नित्यं निरस्तारिभिः ।
पात्रैः षोडशभिर्विशुद्धचरि-

¹ Read शलिल ।

² Read काममाचामतीव ।

- L. 12. तामोघप्रतिज्ञैरयं
साम्राज्ये महितो महामहिमभल्लक्ष्मीपतेराज्ञया ॥ [90]
व-
- L. 13. द्वमुष्टिरपि निर्भरदाता-
वेपनोपि समरैकधुरीणः ।
उग्रमूर्तिरपि कृष्णशरीरो
यत्करेण क-
- L. 14. रितः करवालः ॥ [91]
पायं पायं हविरविरतं प्रस्तुते यस्य यज्ञे
जाते जीर्णं हरिरतितरां या-
- L. 15. ति निद्रान्समुद्रे ।
धूमोद्गारीलवणशूलिलं¹ प्राप्नुते वाडवोम्निः
प्रौद्यच्छूलः समजनि
- L. 16. शिवः कालकूटाशनोपि ॥ [92]
ब्रूमः किमस्य तुलनां लघुतोपनीत-
न्तत्तत्परक्षितिभृतः किल दानशौर्थ्यं ।
- L. 17. सभ्योपदेशकनकाचलकामधेनु-
कल्पद्रुमानदितनिर्जितसम्यदस्तान् ॥ [93]
आचन्द्रार्कफलोपभोगसु-
- L. 18. लभान्यत्युच्चसौधावली
शोभाविस्फुरितानि शासनशतान्येकः क्षमाधीश्वरः ।
[स्वच्छायानि र]साल-
- L. 19. भूगकदलप्रायैस्तरुणाङ्गणैः
कृत्वा ताम्रविलेखितानि विधिवत्सञ्चेन्नियेभ्यो ददौ ॥ [94]
चिन्तामणौ
- L. 20. सुरमहीरुहकामधेना-
वष्टादशाङ्गमधितिक्षति भानुदेवे ।
ज्यायानमौघ भविता कतमो ममेति
धातु-

Plate-leaf V, reverse.

- L. 1. विचारवशगोन्टपतिर्वभूव ॥ [95]
 चालुक्यकुलसंभृता श्रीमञ्जाकल्लदेविका ।
 लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव भानु-
- L. 2. देवस्य तादृशी ॥ [96]
 तस्यां सूनुरभूद्वीरः श्रीनृसिंहमहोपतिः ।
 गंगवंशसमुद्भृता हर्ता वैरिम-
- L. 3. हीतलं ॥ [97]
 यथार्जुनस्तथाशस्त्रे शास्त्रे वाचस्पतिर्यथा ।
 दाने कर्णे वले भीमः सौन्दर्ये कुसुमायु-
- L. 4. धः ॥ [98]
 तेन दत्तं द्विजातिभ्यः शासनं शतसंख्यकं ।
 महादानानि दानानि श्रीमन्मातुरनुज्ञया ॥ [99]
- L. 5. वीरश्रीनृसिंहदेवन्दपतौ सिंहासनाधिष्ठिते
 भूमिपालकिरीटकोटिकिरणप्रद्योतिताग्निद्वये ।
- L. 6. प्रत्यर्थिन्नि[ति]पाविदीर्गहृदया भीत्याप्रह्वीणश्रियः
 प्राणत्राणपरायणाः समभवन् पृथ्वीधरावा-
- L. 7. सिनः ॥ [100]
 यस्मिन् प्रशासति भुवः कुलभूधरेन्द्राः
 कूर्मोभुजङ्गमपतिर्दिगणैकपाञ्च ।
 भूभारगौरव-
- L. 8. कृतातिशिरोविकारा
 विश्रान्तिलाभमभजन्त कृताशिषश्च ॥ [101]
 वीरासनं समधितिष्ठति कुञ्जराणा-
- L. 9. म्बीरोवहेद्रणधरां भुवि कोत्र नाम ।
 इन्द्रायुधप्रभभुजद्वयसद्वितीये
 कम्पन्तनो-
- L. 10. ति करवाललतापि यत्र ॥ [102]
 यः खड्गचण्डचण्डमहसा रिपु राजकाना-
 माहृत्यसम्पदमम-

- L. 11. त्वत्तरोः समानां ।
भूदेवसादकतभूतलभूषणेन
दानाभिसाद्रितलसत्कर-
- L. 12. पल्लवेन ॥ [103]
तस्याथ क्षितिपालमौलिवडभीविन्यस्तपादाश्वज-
स्याहो हन्त किमुच-
- L. 13. तेद्यमहिमा कौर्त्तिर्न्दपश्रीभृतः ।
यद्गौतिं किल किन्नरौगणमुखादिगदन्तिनां प्रह्वत्वां
रोलम्बा-
- L. 14. मदमापिवन्ति निभृतन्निःकर्णभाले मुखे ॥ [104]
यस्येष्टासदृष्टप्रतस्य विजयी वन्द्यः प्रतापः परं
सच्छूला-
- L. 15. क्रियमाणतप्ततरसप्रख्याः कुलक्ष्माभृतः ।
स्थालीपाकमुपाश्रयन्ति च यतश्चत्वार एवाव्ययो
दि-
- L. 16. ग्भ्रान्तिभ्रजते यतो स्वरमणिर्नार्थः सहस्र¹ त्विषां ॥ [105]
स्त्विति सप्तदशोत्तरद्वादशशतशकवत्सरे
- L. 17. चतुर्दशभुवनाधिपत्यादिविरुदावली विराजमानः ॥ श्रीवीरनर-
सिंहदेवमहीपतिः स्वराज्यस्यैक
- L. 18. विंशत्यङ्गेभिलिख्यमाने सिंहशुक्लवशां सोमवारे रेमुणा कटके
नवराभ्यन्तर² विजयसमये हली-
प्रह्लाद-
- L. 19. मुदलेन गङ्गातीरानवधारितन्यायात् सोमग्रहण-
समयसमुत्खट्यानेकभूमध्यात् काश्यप सगोत्राय

Plate-leaf VI, obverse.

- L. 1. काश्यपावत्सार³ नैध्रुवप्रवराय यजुर्वेदान्तर्गत
कागवशाखाध्यायिने कुमारमहापात्र भीमदेवशर्मणे
भूमि

¹ Read सहस्र ।

² नवराज्यान्तर ।

³ काश्यपावसार ।

- L. 2. पञ्चाशद्वाटिकाप्रदानाय हेराविषयमध्यासीनं
एडरग्रामं पुरोश्चौकरणशिवदासनामक नल-
प्रमाणेन उत्तरतः
- L. 3. मालोपुरग्रामार्द्धश्री¹म दण्डार्द्धमथमीकृत्य तलङ्ग-
ग्रामीय पाणीयमुखाय दण्डार्द्धं दक्षिणावच्छेद ।
पश्चिमतः साहस-
- L. 4. मल्लीय पुष्करिणी पश्चिमहीडमादीकृत्य विमूतिपडा-
ग्रामार्द्धश्री¹म हीडावच्छिन्न पूर्वश्री¹मानमेव चतुःश्री¹मा-
वच्छिन्न
- L. 5. द्वादशगुणोपेत षोडशमानाधिक द्वाचत्वारिङ्श-
द्वाटिकामध्यात् पुरातन देवब्राह्मणभोग्य गोहरि-
गोपथदण्डापुष्क-
- L. 6. रिणीसमेतनवमानाधिकाषु^२ वह्निष्कृत्य निरर्थकर द्वादश
गुणोपेत सप्तमानाधिक चतुस्त्रिङ्शद्वाटिका परिमितं ॥
तथा स्वा-
- L. 7. द्वविषयमध्यासीनं सुनाइलोग्राम तस्यापि नलप्रमा
णेन । पश्चिमतः । भौमनारायणपुरङ्गि¹म दण्डार्द्ध
मादीकृत्य
- L. 8. खण्डसाह्यग्रामार्द्धश्री¹म दण्डार्द्धावच्छिन्न पूर्वमर्थ्याद ।
दक्षिणतः वेडपडाग्रामार्द्धश्री¹मदण्डार्द्धमारभ्य
घोडापाल ग्रामार्द्धश्री¹म-
- L. 9. दण्डार्द्धोत्तरावच्छेदमेवं चतुःश्री¹मावच्छिन्नं षड्गुणोपेत
त्रयोदशमानाधिक त्रयस्त्रिङ्शद्वाटिका मध्यात् पुरातन
देवब्राह्म-
- L. 10. णभोग्य गोहरि गोपथ पुष्करिणीसमेत द्वादशाधिक दश वाटिका
वह्निष्कृत्य षड्गुणोपेत मा-
- L. 11. नैकादशाधिक त्रयोविङ्शति वाटिका मध्ये निश्चवीकृता-
ष्टादशमानोपेताष्टमाधिक सप्तवाटि-

- L. 12. कायाञ्चन्द्रादासकरणस्य नलप्रमाणेन एतदीयश्री¹माया
पश्चिमतः ॥ कइलोग्रामार्द्धश्री¹म दण्डास्य
- L. 13. वटवृक्षमारभ्य नाइलोग्रामथ्य क्षेत्रे वटवृक्षावधि-
पूर्वश्रीमानं ॥ उत्तरतः सुनाइलोग्रामम-
- L. 14. ध्यक्षेत्रस्थवटवृक्षमादीकृत्य । वेडपडा ग्रामार्द्धश्रीम
दण्डास्य वटवृक्षावच्छिन्नदक्षिणमर्थ्यार्दं ॥ एवं च-
- L. 15. तुः श्रीमावच्छिन्न भूखण्ड अष्टादशमानोपेताष्ट-मानो-
धिक सप्तवाटिकामितं वह्निष्कृत्य निरवकर त्रयोदश
गुण्ठाधिक द्वादश मा-
- L. 16. नोपेत पंचदश वाटिका परिमितं ॥ एवं ग्रामद्वयेन
मिलित्वा निरवकर पञ्चाशद्वाटिका परिमितं ॥ सजल-
स्थल मच्छ कच्छप
- L. 17. सहित माचन्द्रार्कमकरीकृत्य प्रादात् ॥ * ॥ अस्मिन् गङ्गा-
नरसिंहपुरशासने प्रतिमाष गोत्राय ऋग्वेदान्तर्गत
शा-
- L. 18. कलशाखाध्यायिनेशेवायत्यल्लालनाथशर्मणे
शासनाधिकारव्यवस्थिता वाटिकैका ॥ ० ॥ ताम्रकारा
यन्नाडिनाम्ने
- L. 19. वाटिकार्द्धञ्च ॥ ० ॥ अस्य शासनशार्ङ्गतया । दक्षिण
भाडखण्डमध्य तु(?)चडाग्रामीय कोमटि माङ्गु श्रेष्ठीकपुत्र
- L. 20. पुराइ खे³छिसुते नोरी खे³छिनामा ॥ ० ॥ कण्टपडिहट्टीय
ताम्बूलिक महादेव वेलालिकस्य नम्मा धित्तुवेला
- L. 21. लिनामा ॥ ० ॥ प्रसोत्तपुरहट्टीयजस्यलीताम्बुकार
अन्नाइ ॥ ० ॥ वेदपुरजस्यलीकन्सकार मदाइनामा ॥ ० ॥

Plate-leaf VI, reverse.

- L. 1. मद्दानफलसिद्ध्यर्थं तद्रक्षाफलसिद्ध्ये ।
मद्भूमिः परिपाल्योयं भूपैराचन्द्रतारकं ॥
माभूदफलशंकाते परदत्तेति पा-

¹ Read ०सी ।

² स्या

³ Read ०शे ।

- L. 2. धिर्व ।
 खदत्तादधिकं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं ॥
 खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा यन्नाद्रक्ष्युधिष्ठिर ।
 महौम्मतिमतां श्रेष्ठः दानात् श्रेयोनु-
- L. 8. पालनं ॥
 खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।
 सविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥
 निर्जले प्रान्तरे देष्टे शुष्क-
- L. 4. कोटरवासिनः ।
 कृष्णसर्पा हि जायन्ते ये हरन्ति वसुन्धरां ॥
 गामेकं स्वर्णमेकं वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं ।
 हरन्नरकमाप्नो-
- L. 5. ति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवं ।
 शत्रुनापि कृतो धर्म्मः पालनीयो मनीषिभिः ।
 शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः स्यात् धर्म्मः शत्रुर्न कस्य चित् ॥
 म-
- L. 6. दृढशृङ्गाः परमहोपतिवंशजा वा
 पापादपेतमनसो भूवि भाविभूपाः ॥
 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्म्ममिदं समस्त-
 न्तेषाम्म-
 या विरचितोज्ज्वलिरेष मूर्द्धि ॥ * ॥
 श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री ॥ ० ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration to Nārāyaṇa !

Verse 1. May the lotus-like feet of Lakṣmī grant you prosperity : her feet, whose nails emitting hundreds of brilliant rays, shine like the petals with filaments, and distinctly reflected on the nails of which her lover (Kṛṣṇa), bowing down to her for offence committed to her playfully, looks like a black-bee sitting upon a lotus.

2. When the ocean of milk was churned by the Dēvas and Daityas, the beautiful Ramā sprang out of it, and although Īiva, Brahmā, Indra and other gods of renown, present on that occa-

sion, looked longingly after her, she recognised the lotus-navelled Viṣṇu, the delighter of the three worlds, as her husband : just as in a garden of various blooming trees, the *bhramara* (black-bee) has recourse to the mango-tree only.

3. From the lotus-like navel of Viṣṇu sprang Brahmā; from Brahmā, Atri; and from the eyes of Atri sprang the moon whose rays illumined the universe. He, although equal to the sun, in his power to devour the darkness potent enough to eat up the three worlds, surpassed him in transparency, because darkness is seen through his person in the shape of the black spot apparent on his surface.

4. He being a brother of Lakṣmī gives delight to the universe; being a friend of nectar destroys the poison-like darkness; and as a younger brother of the celestial tree Kalpa is enjoyed by all the Dēvas. But having all these blessed qualities combined in him, he defeats each of them by unfolding his purity before the universe. He reigns supreme.

5. Several kings were born in his dynasty. Their glories, partially delineated in the purāṇas, did not stop there. Then they became themes for several *kāvya*s; and now, as if assuming living forms, they are, travelling throughout the world, halting in the ears of the hearers.

6. Where on the face of the earth is so many-tongued a person, who can proclaim the great military exploits of every king of the Lunar Dynasty? The description of the glories acquired by the prowess of one of the members of the family (Arjuna) has taken up a *Mahābhārata*. Therefore only the names of the kings of this dynasty are here given in the order of precedence.

From Candra sprang Budha, from Budha Anala, from Anala Purū-ravas, from Pururavas Vāyu (Āyus), from Vāyu Nahuṣa, from Nahuṣa Yayāti, from Yayāti Turvasu, from Turvasu Gāṅgēya, from Gāṅgēya Virōcana, from Virōcana Sāmbedya, from Sāmbedya Bhāsvān, from Bhāsvān Datta-sēna, from Datta-sēna Saumya, from Saumya Aṣva-datta, from Aṣvadatta Saurāṅga, from Saurāṅga Citrāṅgada, from Citrāṅgada Āiradhvaja, from Āiradhvaja Dharmaiṣi, from Dharmaiṣi Parikṣit, from Parikṣit Jaya-sēna, from Jaya-sēna Vijaya-sēna, from Vijaya-sēna Vṛṣa-dhvaja, from Vṛṣa-dhvaja Pragalbha, from Pragalbha Çakti, and from Çakti sprang Kōlāhala known as Ananta-varman.

7. There was a famous city named Ganga-vāḍi. It was wealthy, prosperous and fit to be the abode of gods. Ananta-varman became its first king. He and his successors were known by the title of Rūpa-gaṅga.

8. Because the adversary kings, (while he was fighting) at the head of the battle, raised a tumult (*Kōlāhala*) and (went to) the abodes of the gods, his (capital) became equal to the abode of gods and was named *Kōlāhala*. In that city several kings reigned in succession.

9. When the eldest *Narasimha* is reigning what shall we do here— we who delight in forcibly carrying away the goddess of prosperity by conquering the world with our prowess. Let the creeper-like sword in our hands exercise in the forest of the necks of our enemies. Let the creeper of our glory ascend to heaven.

10. Of the Lords of men, they with *Kāmārṇava* as their fifth, while roaming over the world with the object of conquest were in some places honoured by their enemies, in others, they had to destroy the families hostile to them. In this they reached not only *Kalinga* but along with it *Uḍra* also. (When they reached there) the Tortoise Incarnation of Hari rose, as it were, from the sea to see them.

11. What more can be said in praise of these kings belonging to the *Gaṅga* Dynasty than that, at the time when, in battle, they snatched away by force all the lands belonging to the *Kaliṅgas*, and the fortune long enjoyed by others; the divine tortoise, the three-eyed *Śiva* at *Gokarna* as well as on the *Mahendra*, the sea, and the sun and the moon in the sky, all bore witness to the occasion.

12. Among them, *Kāmārṇava* the ruler of the world was the progenitor of a line of kings. His sons and grandsons were kings of renowned arms.

13. From *Kāmārṇava* sprang *Vajra-hasta* as the thunder-holder on earth, a renowned king throughout the world and devoted to the teachings of the *Śāstras*. He was a destroyer of his enemies and provided all the means for supplying the wants of the needy; and by his pure way of living, he was like an ascetic of the first order.

14. The king of *Tri-Kalinga* was not only *Vajra-hasta* in name, but in his deeds too he was like the Holder of the thunder-bolt. Except *Indra* the Thunder-bolt-holder himself, who is there upon earth, who can resist the falling thunderbolt, *i. e.*, the attack of *Vajra-hasta*?

15. His fame, pure as the moon, spread through all the directions of the horizon, and gladdened the whole world. The riders of the elephants supporting the eight quarters of the world perceiving this, painted the frontal globes of their elephants again and again with thick pigment of vermillion.

16. As *Pārvatī* was of *Pinākin* (*Mahā-dēva*), so *Naṅgamā* was his beloved wife: By her, *Vajra-hasta* had a son named *Rāja-rāja* the valorous king.

17. King *Rāja-rāja* was handsome like the moon. His glories

were as innumerable as the heads of Ananta. He lowered Kuvēra by his wealth and Indra by his prowess.

18. Like Lakṣmī of Nārāyaṇa, and Rōhiṇī of Candra (the moon) **Rāja-sundarī** was his first queen.

19. From **Rāja-rāja** and **Rāja-sundarī** sprang **Cōḍa-gaṅga** to deprive the rulers of the earth of their means of strength; as formerly the 'thunder-bolt' issued from Indra to lop off the wings of the supporters of the earth (*i.e.* of mountains).

20. Surely Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was his nurse, as that Ārya-boy sucked up from her all the milk-like learning even when very young. Otherwise how was it possible that he should acquire such keen insight into the Vēdas, such well versed knowledge in the Ṣāstras, such wonderful poetical genius, and such superior ingenuity in the fine-arts, and what not?

21. Excepting the Dik-pālas, he brought under his control, all the kings of the earth; and the gems that adorned the heads of the kings unfriendly to him shed radiance on his feet. This is not speaking too much in praise of king **Cōḍa-gaṅga**. For the full moon, thinking that (the disc) his whole body, owing to its similarity with the white umbrella of kings, would be carried away by king **Cōḍa-gaṅga**, has, through fear, ceased to expand his body.

22. As an aged person takes the *kara* (hand) of a woman duly married to him, he (the king) exacted *kara* (tribute) from all the land between the Gaṅgā (the Ganges) and the Gōtama-gaṅgā (Gōdāvarī) disregarding the powerful warriors who looked on in amazement.

23. In duels, before the blood, flowing from the wounds inflicted upon his body with the weapon in the antagonist's hand reached the ground, king **Gaṅga** with the sword held in his hand cut them to pieces and made them lie prostrate upon the ground.

24. When the terrible flame of **Gaṅga's** prowess burned the capitals of the unfriendly monarchs, the smoke rising in clouds from these cities ascended the heavens; and the dēvas thinking that the Khāṇḍava forest was again on fire got frightened for a moment. But soon their fear was assuaged, when they came to know the real fact from the enemies of **Gaṅga**, sent to heaven by the sharp edge of his sword; and surely the dēvas then began to praise his valour.

25. With elephants in fury appearing like masses of clouds, their temporal juice flowing in torrents and rendering the battle-field inaccessible, the effulgence of the waving swords appearing like flashes of lightning, and the clash of the *nārāca* arm roaring like thunder, his army was very similar to the appearance of the rainy season. Trilōcana-vibhu saying that no hero could venture to conquer **Gaṅga**, was bound in agreements with him.

26. Defeating the king of **Utkala** as if churning another sea, **Gaṅgēçvara** obtained the moon of expanded fame, **Lakṣmī**-like kingdom (*dharaṇī*), thousands of maddened elephants, tens of thousands of horses and gems innumerable. What shall we say? Is this the excellence of the ocean or the person who churns it?

27. What person is there who is capable of erecting a temple fit for the dwelling of that great Being pervading the whole universe, whose feet are this world, whose navel is the firmament, whose ears are the ten directions, whose eyes are the sun and the moon, and whose head is the yonder heaven? In consideration of this it seems that the kings who preceded **Cōḍa-gaṅga** did not take in hand the erection of a temple to **Puruṣōttama**: but **Gaṅgēçvara** built it.

28. The sea of milk is the birth-place of **Lakṣmī**. Persons who know the value of self-respect consider it derogatory to their honor to live in the house of their father-in-law. It seems that taking this into consideration, **Lakṣmī-pati** (**Jagannātha**) surely felt greatly mortified, whilst dwelling there: but as soon as the temple was erected he left his former abode and has been residing in it (the temple) with great pleasure. **Lakṣmī** too, leaving her father's house, is living in that of her husband with great delight.

29. Now, thou, O **Kūrmādhipa** (king of the tortoises), run not thou away; thou, O **Vyālendra** (king of the serpents), have patience; thou, O Earth, be still; and, thou too, O Universe, be immoveable; for the lions brought enchained by **Gaṅgēçvara** in his several hunting excursions by their furious roar filling the whole universe with the echo may terrify the **Diṇ-nāgas** to flight, which will make the world tremble, which may also happen sometimes under the weight of his feet.

30. Hotly pursued by **Gaṅgēçvara** the king of the **Mandāra** first fled from his capital whose ramparts, walls, and wide gates had been already destroyed by the forces of **Kaliṅga** and then again from the battle-field on the banks of the Ganges, his body all the while receiving wounds, and appearing like the body of **Rādhēya** (**Karṇa**) thickly pierced by the arrows of **Pārtha** (**Arjuna**) in battle.

31. Places even beyond the concave of the world were plastered over with the nectar of his fame. People who in their first distress came to him for relief got heaps of gold from him equal to their expectation. The capitals of his enemies were burnt by his prowess.

32. The valorous king, after making the **Dik-pālas** on all sides as his gate-keepers, enjoyed (ruled) the world for seventy years.

33. All the qualities of the queen **Kastūrikā-mōḍinī** were of such a nature as to elicit the praise of the gods. It was owing to his unparalleled devotion to the gods that **Cōḍa-gaṅga** was blessed with

such a wife. A king, unless he is inspired by Viṣṇu cannot prevail; and so the ruler of the earth was not different from Viṣṇu born to save the world, and Lakṣmī herself seeing Viṣṇu born in the shape of Cōḍa-gaṅga took birth in the form of **Kastūrikā-mōḍinī**.

34. By her Cōḍa-gaṅga had a son, named **Kāmārṇava**. He was the only valorous king in the whole world and there was none charitable like him, and his fame for glorious deeds done was spread throughout the world. He with his fiery strength defeated the sun and with spotless purity surpassed the moon.

35. Justly the prince **Kāmārṇava** was called **Kumāra** (Kārti-kēya), for both of them were the sons of Gaṅgēṣa (Çiva and Cōḍa-gaṅga), both protected the Vibudhas (Dēvas and Paṇḍitas), and both were wielders of Çakti (spear and the regal power) capable of destroying arrogant enemies.

36. It is well-known that the sea swells at the sight of the moon: but never the reverse. But it is strange that at the appearance of **Kāmārṇava** (the sea of desire) the Kīrti-candra (moon of fame) began to increase.

37. In the Çaka year measured by the Vēdas (4), the seasons (6), the sky (0) and the moon (1), (*i.e.*, 1064) when the sun was in the sign of Sagittarius (Dhanu), when all the planets were exercising auspicious influence, and the enemies had all been destroyed, the prince the illustrious **Kāmārṇava**, son to the great king **Gaṅga**, and the only lord of the worlds was anointed king, at which all the universe rejoiced.

38. The story runs that the crescent-moon was born out of the sea of milk. But from **Kāmārṇava** sprang both full-moon-like fame and sun-like prowess. They too, like a couple, shone over the world, and embraced the adverse kings though they had no liking for them.

39. In the battle-field, the pearls issuing from the temples of the enemies' elephants broken by **Kāmārṇava's** sword, and moistened with blood gushing forth from the wounds, sparkled like stars in the morning and evening sky.

40. In a quarrel between the sword and the prowess of **Kāmārṇava**, one saying 'I have devoured the puissant armies of the enemies,' the other contradicting, 'No not so, I have eaten them;' the king's pure fame would come as a mediator to settle their dispute and say 'I shall tell you after consulting with the great,' and would thus respectfully reach the ears of **Brahmā**.

41. People speak excellently of another world having been created, in former times, by Mahēṣa along with the Hiranya-garbha (golden egg-born **Brahmā**). But now their speech is stopped, because king **Kāmārṇava** before the eyes of all the living beings made the world

come into self-existence long before, (Hiraṇya-garbha) full of gold (riches).

42. The earth is already burdened with the weight of the seven seas, and trembling often calls for the help of Nāgēçvara (king of the snakes) and Kūrmēçvara (king of the tortoises). But the Creator (Dhātā) again burdened her with another Sea of Desire (Kāmārṇava). He too on his part, being unequalled in kindness, takes upon himself the excess of the earth's burden by often ascending the balance and weighing himself with gold.

43. King Kāmārṇava ruled his kingdom for ten years. During his reign his kingdom was full of happy and well nourished people, and was very attractive on account of several learned Paṇḍitas dwelling there.

44. Mahārāja Cōḍa-gaṅga had another queen named Indirā, daughter of a king of the solar-dynasty. In beauty she was like the moon-faced Indirā (Lakṣmī) born herself, who is still regarded by Brahmā as the model of beauty.

45. Her beauty, character and deportment being delineated in most laudable terms have set forth the daughter of the mountain (Durgā) as a simile. This was not blamable; and as in this world Mahārāja Cōḍa-gaṅga was not different from Hara (Çiva); he married Indirā proud of her supernatural beauty.

46. By her Cōḍa-gaṅga had a son the illustrious Rāghava. He was king of kings and crushed the pride of the adverse rulers. All the kings frightened at the news of his coronation trembled in their hearts.

47. When the illustrious Rāghava became king, all the other rulers of the earth attained the ultimate object of their body by shampooing his feet. But it is strange that though rendered destitute of their *tējaḥ* (power and heat) they became *mitras* (i.e., feudatory kings and the sun).

48. In ancient times Arjuna was held the typical example of one who possessed hands strong and capable of striking down formidable enemies in several ways; but now Rāghava possessing hands playing with the heads of the enemies like balls in the arena of the battle-field, is looked upon by all the wielders of the bow as their only model.

49. Was he a second Paraçu-rāma born in the world! Because like Paraçu-rāma he too uprooted the lines of enemies, made all the world obey his commands, devoted his hands to the donation of the Kṣiti (earth or landed properties), and, like Paraçu-rāma, he killed impetuously his formidable thousand-handed enemy (Daça-çatabāhu).

50. Cutting asunder troops of mountain-like elephants in battle, king Rāghava's sword drank in a moment the water-like blood, and then having become loaded with white fame, like the moon adorned with pleasing lustre, gloried victorious.

51. Wherever kings were unfriendly to him king Rāghava with his overwhelming power was like the *dava-dahana* (conflagration) to their forts, like thunderbolts to the mountain-like kings, and like the lion to the troops of maddened elephants of the enemies.

52. The king of the world the illustrious Rāghava, who was the crest-jewel of the sovereigns of the earth, ruled his kingdom unrestrained for ten and five years.

53. As Aditi was of Kaçyapa, the illustrious Candra-lēkhā was the favourite wife of the illustrious Cōḍa-gaṅga, the king of the globe. She was as a bulbous root to the creeper-like extension of the king's dynasty. Of her was born Rāja-rāja who defeated the sun by the force of his splendour, and filled all the sides of the horizon with the fame of greatness derived from crushing kings.

54. When Rāja-rāja set out on his expedition to subjugate the world, the force with which his troops struck the earth raised a large quantity of dust which covered the firmament. The horses of the sun thinking it reproachful to touch the earth used to uplift themselves towards heaven and the celestial elephant began to strike the earth with his tusks.

55. The son of Cōḍa-gaṅga was of unrestrained valour. He was famous under the name of king Rāja-rāja as he was the king of the kings.

56. Having in his early youth taken upon himself the protection of the world, what extraordinary things happened to him whose body was like the Himālaya (O Ye honest hear!). The earth acted as his seat, the heaven as his ensign, the mountain as his palace, the Dik-pālas as the representatives of his fame, and the verses in his praise as his bards.

57. O illustrious Rāja-rāja, surely your fame gave pleasure to the minds of those who could appreciate higher excellencies, and created desires in the innocent minds of the needy. On the other hand, the same fame on reaching the ears of the enemies mortified them like a dart in their hearts. Nowhere are the followers of their free-will seen to act uniformly.

58. The illustrious Rāja-rāja the king of the world was the possessor of the Royal fortunes of the rulers of the earth, and his thunderbolt-like hands were always busy in wielding his victorious bow. He, after a reign of twenty-five years in this world, rose up from

his throne, shining like pure snow, his fame extending far and wide, and Indra singing his glorious deeds.

59. After him his younger brother **Aniyaṅka-bhīma** was installed on the throne. This king was competent in work and a lover of good poetry. He was pure in religion, free from any impurity of the Kali age, and his eulogy surpassed those of his ancestors.

60. On the summit of the mountain of battle, crowded with warriors, echoing with the sound of conch-shells, filled with heaps of pearls issuing from the gigantic elephants' temples pierced with spears, and burning with his excited fiery prowess, king **Rāja-rāja** reaching the heads of his adverse kings robbed them of their royal fortune.

61. When churned, the sea of milk highly agitated by the combined hands of the Dēvas and Asuras produced only a half-moon which adorned (the forehead of) Mahādēva alone; but in the battle-field the single strength of thy arm produced from the rain-water-(dhārā-jala)-like sharpness (dhārā) of thy sword such a mighty moon-like fame that it embraced all the eight Dik-pālas (protectors of the eight directions of the earth.)

62. The dust rising at the time of his setting out on expeditions filled the sky, and so soiled the body of the kings of elephants (Airāvata).

63. This heroic prince **Anaṅga-bhīma** subjugating all his enemies ruled the earth for ten years.

64. The valiant king **Anaṅga-bhīma** was of unrestrained power, and as the family abode of the goddess of Daṇḍa-nīti (Administration of Justice). His conduct was most elegant, being purified by truthfulness, right observances, and correct judgment, and the sole object of his life was virtue. His other half was the *paṭṭa-mahiṣī* **Bāghalla-dēvī**; in love, that knew no bounds, she was like the goddess Lakṣmī herself.

65. Her son was the king **Rāja-rāja**, who equalled his father in all his excellent good qualities, possessed superior valour, and assumed the reins of government in his youth. His lotus-like feet were coloured reddish by the effulgence radiating from the jewels on the crests of the kings bowing down to him.

66. His marching war-horses impetuously striking the earth raised such a cloud of dust that it completely obscured the bright rays of the sun, and being spread far and wide by the incessant flappings of the ears of the raging war-elephants, resembled the veils on the faces of the eight Dik-gajas.

67. When, after subjugating all his enemies, the chief of the princes, namely the illustrious king **Rāja-rāja**, ruled the whole earth

girt by the seven seas, with superior political abilities, even Mādhava began to consider the king's sword sharper than his own discus, Vidhi acknowledged his cleverness in the matter of studying the Āstras, and nowhere was the word Kali (quarrel) heard except to denote the *yuga*.

68. His sea-like fame, having swollen greatly, inundated the world. When small and twinkling stars appeared in the firmament, it seemed that the foam springing up from the sea had spread over it.

69. This valorous king **Rāja-rāja** was like Karṇa in benevolence, like Arjuna in power, and like Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness.

70. King **Rāja-rāja** after enjoying his royal prosperity in this world for ten and seven years went to heaven.

71. This king had a queen named **Maṅkūṇa-dēvi**. She was descended from the Cālukya Dynasty, and in beauty was like the coast of the sea of beauty.

72. Of her was born king **Anaṅga-bhīma** of extraordinary valour and great personal beauty. His eulogy shone forth on the walls of the horizon washed with the waves of nectar-like fame.

73. The prowess of his arms having rooted out his enemies, the tears from the eyes of their wives used to inundate the earth. It seems that Viṣṇu, who is always anxious to go into the sea of milk, seeing the tremendous waves, has twisted his neck in shame.

74. Who art thou? I am Kali. Why dost thou look sorrowful? Who is there by narrating to whom my condition, I can cross this ocean of sorrow? Tell me, I am myself Hari. Dost thou not know me? On hearing his reply, Kali used to say, that if thou art thyself Nārāyaṇa, then hear what I say. In the **Gaṅga** dynasty, a king named **Anaṅga-bhīma** has taken his birth. He has almost dispossessed me of my rights. That king is the sole cause of my anguish.

75. The Original Being embracing his lotus-like tender heart fragrant with perfume of great delight arising from deep meditation, and sweetened by the honey of love to God, played the part of a black bee.

76. His splendid sword serving as a harem-keeper for the protection of the goddess of Royal Fortune, likewise assuming the appearance of a rope for strangling adverse kings, and displaying many feats of dancing in the arena of the battle-field was regarded as an unparalleled beautiful dancer.

77. He by his great prowess earned a mighty fame. His liberality was so great that even the liberal *Kāma-dhenu* and others were surpassed by him. In fine, he was regarded as another Hiranya-garbhā: and on hearing this, the great Padma-yōni (Brahman) felt

ashamed, and as a result of this, the eyes in his four heads began to move in vacancy.

78. He was endowed with the three-fold regal powers and observed the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna*.¹ The possession of the whole world did not give him so much pleasure as he derived from granting several pieces of land to pious Brāhmaṇas.

79. Attracting the hearts of deer-eyed girls, and crushing those of the enemies, the king, who was anxious that learned men should know the meaning and construction of his name most appropriately assumed the title of **Anaṅga-bhīma**.

80. The king **Anaṅga-bhīma** the beloved of his servants, after ruling the earth by force of his mighty arm, for thirty-four years, went to the abode of the gods.

81. From Aditi-like illustrious **Kastūrā-dēvi** and the Kaṣyapa-like king **Anaṅga-bhīma**, was born on the earth the warrior **Nara-siṃha**, (Viṣṇu)-like Narasiṃha, the saviour of the world and the destroyer of the sinners.

82. The king **Nara-siṃha** was always engaged in benevolent deeds. Seeing his boundless charity, it was thought, as if Nara-siṃha (Viṣṇu) himself had been born in this world in order to wash with the water of profuse charity, his hands formerly polluted by the blood of the king of the Asuras (Hiraṇya-kaṣipu).

83. He was fanned from both sides with two white *camaras*, and a white umbrella was spread above his head. The room in which he sat was built of white elephants' tusks. The sight of it led a visitor to believe that the Goddess Bhavānī thinking him to be his own son had taken him on her lap, and for this reason his feet are always rested on the victorious lion-seat.

84. Nay, Gaṅgā herself blackened for a great extent by the flood of tears which washed away the collyrium from the eyes of the **Yavanis** of **Rādhā** and **Varēndra**, and rendered waveless at his extraordinary deeds, was (I think), for that time transformed by this prince into the **Yamunā**.

85. The eight mountains and the eight elephants of the quarters which bear the burden of the earth all lie upon his hand. So when he weighs himself against gold in the *Tulāpuruṣa* ceremony, where shall the single golden mountain, **Sumēru**, the abode of gods be?

86. Shining day and night, and making **Mēru** over to the Brāhmaṇas in pious gifts, namely, *tulāpuruṣa*, king Nara-siṃha built at **Kōṇā-kōṇa** (a place of great renown) a temple for the sun to live in with the other gods.

87. Whose fame pleasing to the sight after traversing the eight

¹ Presents of gold, jewels, and other ornaments equal to a man's weight.

sides of the earth and feeling hungry, consequent on the fatigue sustained in the struggle, used to drink water from the *Lavaṇa* (salt) and *Ikṣu* (sugar-cane) seas. But this proving insufficient, she used to cross over the *Surā* (wine) sea. Then partaking of the health-giving *Sarpi* (clarified butter), tasting *Dadhi* (curd) and satisfied with *Dugdha* (milk) (from the seas bearing these names), she appears washing her hands and mouth in the various seas.

88. The king surpassed all in his strength of arms, and crushing his enemies all over the earth, enjoyed the unsurpassed pleasure of his kingdom for thirty-three years. He relinquished all attachment towards earthly affairs (*snēha*), and just as a lamp when its oil (*snēha*) is exhausted, is extinguished by the fall of a great fly, so death extinguished his flame of life.

89. By *Sitā-dēvi* the daughter of *Mālā-candra*, the king had a son the illustrious *Bhānu-dēva*, like the *Bhānu* (the sun) himself, who brought good days to the world. As the *Bhānu* (the sun) opens the *Padmas* (lotuses), brings languor to (*i.e.*, shuts) the *Kairavas* (water-lilies), destroys the intense *Vṛtra* (*i.e.*, darkness), and places his feet upon the summits of the *para-dharaṇi-bhṛt*, (*i.e.*, principal mountains namely: *Udaya-giri* and *Asta-giri*), so king *Bhānu-dēva* diffused *Padmā* (wealth and prosperity), brought languor to the *Kairavas* (enemies) destroyed the hostile *Vṛtras* (enemies), and placed his feet upon the heads of the *para-dharaṇi-bhṛt* (other kings).

90. For the welfare of his kingdom, he kept sixteen ministers well versed in politics, capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy, of virtuous character, and of unfailing resolution. That illustrious and fortunate king used to govern the empire with their advice.

91. He whose weapons although kept closed in his hands is *Nirbhara-dātā* (*i.e.*, capable of killing all the enemies or very much bountiful), although trembling, is good in fighting capacity, and although of fierce attitude, is *Kṛṣṇa-çarira* (*i.e.*, of attractive appearance like *Kṛṣṇa*.)

92. Continually partaking of *havis* (clarified butter) in his incessant sacrificial ceremonies, *Hari*, suffering from indigestion, sleeps a long and profound sleep in the sea. *Agni* (the fire-god) vomiting smoke had recourse to the salt-water (as a remedy for indigestion) in the form of *Vāḍava* (sea-fire); and *Çiva* though he safely drank the *Kāla-kūṭa* (fatal poison) was attacked with *Çūla* (*i.e.*, acute internal spasm.)

93. What shall we say of him? he crippled very much the fame of other kings for liberality. Having conquered their wealth, at the advice of his ministers he gave away *Kanakācala* (the golden mountain), *Kāmadhenu*, and *Kalpadruma* to them.

94. The unrivalled king granted, with proper ceremonies, to good Çrōtriya Brāhmaṇas, one hundred pieces of land highly decorated with large and beautiful edifices, shaded by numerous gardens of mango, cocoa-nut, plantain and several other trees, after having the gifts inscribed on copper-plates.

95. When King Bhānu-dēva had reigned for eighteen years, Dhātā was perplexed with the question as to which of the four donors, namely, the Cintā-maṇi, the celestial tree (Kalpa-druma), the Kāma-dhēnu and the king Bhānu-dēva was the best, and summoned the king to appear before him for judgment.

96. As Lakṣmī is of Nārāyaṇa, Jākalla-dēvi of the Cālukya dynasty was the beloved wife of Bhānu-dēva.

97. By her was borne the valorous and illustrious king Nṛsiṃha, destroyer of all his enemies and the saviour of the Gaṅga dynasty.

98. (He acquired fame) like Arjuna in handling weapons of war, Vṛhaspati in Çāstrik knowledge, Karṇa in making presents, Bhīma in valour, and Kāma-dēva in beauty.

99. In obedience to his mother, he issued one hundred Çāsanas to Brāhmaṇas, and also other presents of great value.

100. When the most valiant and illustrious Nṛsiṃha-dēva ascended the throne, his feet dazzled (the beholder) with the light emitted from the gems that adorned the crowns of other kings. All the adverse kings, frightened, broken-hearted, and intent only on saving their lives, betook themselves to mountains.

101. When he began to rule the world, the Kulācala, the Kūrma-rāja, the Nāga-rāja and the elephants of the quarters unburdened themselves of the load of the world and took rest; and the disorder of their heads having disappeared, they reposed happily and blessed the king.

102. When the king sets out on elephants to battle, what hero is there on earth who would bear the weight of fighting, when we see that a single creeper-like sword held in his rain-bow-like hand spreads terror on all sides?

103. He was fierce by reason of his sword, and, violently robbing the hostile kings of their immense wealth equal to that of the Kalpataru, presented them to Brāhmaṇas, with his sprout-like hands which were as ornaments of the earth, and shone beautifully wetted by the water of charity.

104. He placed his lotus feet upon the heads of all the kings of his time. What description can we give of the glory and prowess of the king? When the Dig-gajas, on hearing, from the lips of Kinnaras, songs of his fame, used to cease undulating their ears, the large black-

bees sitting comfortably, drank the ichor issuing from the heads of the elephants.

105. Being resolute, his prowess never received any check. The *kula-parvatas*, at the time of his sacrificial ceremony seemed like cooked flesh placed on bars, and the four seas looked like caldrons. Even the sun, the giver of a thousand rays, becoming bewildered, was seen wandering about in every direction.

(Pt. v. Rev. L. 16-19) Hail Fortune! In the Çaka year 1217, decorated with all the epithets such as the Lord of the fourteen worlds, &c., the illustrious king Vira Nara-Siṃha-deva, in the twenty-first year of his reign, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Siṃha (Leo), Monday, in the city of Rēmuṇā, at the merry time of a new conquest, in order to grant 50 *vāṭikas* of land, out of the several pieces of land set apart by Hali Prahlāda Mudala for granting to pious Brāhmaṇas, (Pt. vi. Ob. L. 1-21) while on the banks of the Ganges at the time of a lunar eclipse, to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhīma-dēva Çarman of the Kāçyapa gōtra, Kāçyapa, Apasāra, and Naidhruva Pravara, and a reader of the Kāṇva-çākhā of the Yajurveda, gave the two villages; namely: Ēḍaragrāma within the boundaries of the Dērā-Viṣaya, and according to the *Nala*-measurement of Çri Karaṇa Çiva-dāsa lying from the (half *daṇḍa* ?) boundary line of the village Mālō-pura on the north to the drinking-water-supplying reservoir of Talaṅga-grāma, and from the western bank of the pond of the village Sāhasapura on the west to the embankment (*Hīḍa* ?) on the boundary line of the village of Vibhūti-paḍā on the west. Out of the 42 *vāṭikas*, 16 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas* of land contained within these boundaries deducting 8 *vāṭikās* and 9 *mānas* as already granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas or comprising cow-grazing fields, ponds, &c., the remainder 34 *vāṭikās*, 7 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*. Secondly:—The village of Sunāilla within the boundaries of Svāṅga-Viṣaya according to the *Nala*-measurement of the above-mentioned Çiva-dāsa and lying from the boundary line of Bhīma-nārāyaṇa-pura on the west, to the boundary of Khaṇḍa-sāhi village on the east, and from the half-boundary line (?) of the village Vēḍa-paḍā on the south, to the boundary line of Ghōḍā-pāla village on the north; out of the 33 *vāṭikas*, 13 *mānas*, and 6 *guṇṭhas*, deducting 10 *vāṭikas* and 12 *mānas* as already granted to gods, and Brāhmaṇas or comprizing grazing fields, drinking ponds, &c., again from the remainder 23 *vāṭikas*, 11 *mānas* (?), and 6 *guṇṭhas*, deducting 7 *vāṭikas*, 8 *mānas* and 18 *mānas* (*guṇṭhas* ?) according to the measurement of Candrā-dāsa Karaṇa, and lying from the *Vaṭa* tree on the boundary of the village Ka-ilō on the west, to the *Vaṭa* tree at the middle of the field of village Sunailo on the north, to the *Vaṭa* (*Ficus Indica*) tree on the boundary line of the village of Vēḍa-paḍā

on the south; the remainder 15 *vāṭikas*, 12 *mānas*, and 13 *guṇṭhas*. These two villages together making up 50 *vāṭikas* of land free of any obligation, are granted by regular deed of conveyance including every thing, land and water, with shades and marshes, &c., for as long as the sun and the moon endure: In this granted portion of land named **Gaṅgā-Narasimha-pura** one *vāṭikā* is granted to the **Sēvāita Allāla-nātha** **Çarman** of the **Putimāṣa** *gōtra*, reader of the **Çākala-Çākhā** of the **Ṛgvēda**; half a *vāṭikā* to the copper-maker (**Tāmra-kāra**) named **Nādi**. As a part of this grant,—**Nōri Çrēṣṭhi** son of **Purāi Çrēṣṭhi**, son of **Kōmaṭi Maṅku Çrēṣṭhika** of **Ucaḍā** village in the middle of the South **Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa**; **Dhittu Vēlāli**, grandson of **Mahā-dēva Vēlāli** a **Tāmbūli** of the village of **Kaṇṭa-pāḍi-haṭṭa**; the **Tāmra-kāra** named **Amnāi** of **Purusōttama-pura Usthali**; and the **Kāmsa-kāra** named **Madāi** of **Vēda-pura Usthali**.

(Plate vi. reverse, L. 1-6). In order to reap the harvest (gain the fruit) of my gift and of preserving it, O you future kings! obey this my religion, as long as the moon and the stars endure. O Ye Kings, suspect not it to be fruitless because granted by another; there is greater virtue in preserving the grants of others than in making grants oneself. O **Yudhi-ṣṭhira**! the principal of the intelligent, keep carefully the grants either by yourself or by others; for preserving gifts is far superior to granting them. Whoever forfeits lands granted either by himself or by others becomes a worm in excrement, and there rots with his ancestors. Those who take away the land become black serpents in the hollows of dried up trees in a forlorn and waterless wilderness. He who robs a single cow, a single gold coin, or even half a nail of land, remains in hell until the final deluge. The religious acts performed even by an enemy are respected by the high-minded; because the enemy only is their enemy, religion is enemy to none. Of the future kings of this world whether born in the dynasty of my own or in the dynasty of any other king, whoever with mind unstained by vice, maintains this my religious act, I bow before them with my palms held side by side and raised to the forehead.

On two Unrecorded Sculptures in the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.—By

ALEXANDER E. CADDY.

[Read, February, 1896.]

During my visit to the cave-holding hills of Orissa, the sandstone outcrop of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, some twenty miles south of Cuttack, I had an opportunity of making a careful search through the various caves for objects of interest which might have escaped the scrutiny of previous visitors, and I was surprised to find there were still Art and Archæological treasures which had been unrevealed to Fergusson and his emissaries, to Mr. Locke and his troop of students, to Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra and his men, and all the later visitors, official and otherwise, who had been to these hills.

My own mission was to bring away casts of Aṣōka inscriptions found among the caves, the Aira Rājā's inscription in the Hāthi Guphā, and such dedicatory tablets in Aṣōka character as were to be found in several of these caves, and which were mostly figured in Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. I was also commissioned to photograph whatever of allied interest came in my way.

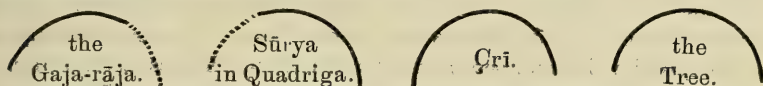
It occurred to me as very curious that no success had attended repeated visits to this cave in discovering the subjects represented on two of the four tympana between the arches over the lintels of the three doors and one window that opened into the inner sanctuary, seeing that more than half of each tympanum was there. They were sculptured but unintelligible. The grime of centuries and successive incrustations from the cells of the steel-blue hornet had sufficiently obscured them to make it hopeless for the casual observer to make anything of them.

It was now an easy matter to set workmen on the tympana to clear out the resinised wax with bamboo scoops and presently the sculptured surfaces were exposed. In the meantime I had devised a preparation which would facilitate the photographing of this intensely blackened stone. A ley of clay and soap, passed through a muslin and applied with a flat brush, much as a painter applies the 'drag,' shows up a low relief with great effect. I photographed the newly exposed sculpture after using the preparation.

The Ananta Cave temple had been explored with great care. Every inch of it had been measured and recorded by men who looked upon it as one of the most important caves in Orissa. Some effort, too, had been more recently made by Fergusson, who had visited Orissā nearly half a century ago, to discover the subject these tympana bore. At his request the then Commissioner of Orissa sent Mr. Phillips specially to examine this cave and report on these tympana—unsuccessfully evidently, for we find Fergusson at last driven to surmise, writing thus in his and Dr. Burgess' book on the caves of India.

"From our knowledge of the sculpture of the Bharat tope we may safely predicate that in addition to the TREE and the image of SRI the remaining Tympana were filled, one with the representation of a WHEEL, and the other of a DAGOBA. The last three being practically the three great objects of worship both here and at Sanchi."

I am sorry my facts do not substantiate this surmise. The series of sculptures on the semicircular tympana begins at the left with the apotheosis of the four-tusked elephant, or Gaja-rāja, followed by Sūrya in a quadriga, the worship of Śrī, and the tree, thus:—



We have here then for the first time the unique lotus-worship offered to the lordliest of elephants. The four-tusked one occupies the centre, huge but ungainly. The sculptor has set himself the task of representing in low relief every limb and feature of his great bulk *en face*. The left-hand corner of the tympanum bears a sun image and a well drawn female elephant, in profile, trailing a long lotus stalk, whose flower she is holding up to the Gāja-rāja. A lotus on the right of the elephant is held up similarly, but the female elephant is wanting.

In the Museum on a medallion, now on the centre table in the long southern gallery, there is a representation of a many-tusked elephant Bōdhisattva. Here a hunter sent by queen Culla Subhadrā (one of the two queens of the Chādanta elephant in her former life) treacherously wounds the elephant king from a pit. Being discovered by the six-tusked elephant, the hunter throws a yellow garment over himself, but to no purpose. The magnanimous one spares him and learns his mission,—to saw off his tusks and carry them to Culla Subhadrā. Being desired to proceed with his task, he does so with difficulty, whereon the king of elephants takes the saw in his trunk, completes the severance, and then dies.

The Bharat medallion represents the six-tusked elephant near the centre to the right of a banian tree, whence he has advanced to the right margin. In this second figure is seen the arrow which has wounded him in the navel, also the hunter plying his saw, but the portion of stone which should have borne the tusk is chipped off. A female elephant his queen Mahā Subhadrā, stands by him during the great crisis.

The birth story, which is admirably told in Dr. Anderson's catalogue, concludes with the narration of how queen Culla Subhadrā died of grief and misery for the cruel destruction of her former lord.

In the Orissan sculpture of the apotheosis of the elephant king he is represented with four tusks only and both his wives are in attendance.

The second tympanum figures Sūrya in his quadriga. The "seven bay steeds" or "seven lucid mares" give place to the Western idea of four horses drawing the Sun-chariot, whose front suggests the shield so frequently used as a Buddhist symbol in these caves.

He stands in the centre of his chariot attended by his two wives, Saṃjñā and Chāyā. An umbrella covers him. To his right is figured the Sun, and on his left we see the Moon in her first quarter. In the corner is Rāhu with his Thyrsus and Amṛta Vase. The supporting figure on the opposite side and the better portion of two horses are missing.

This subject occurs among the Bōdh Gayā sculptures. It is figured on one of the rail pillars now in the Mahant's house; and this gentleman kindly let me make a mould from it last January. I did not then know there was a cast in the Museum already, the gift of Dr. Mitra, from the same source.

Sūrya here stands in a large chariot, the front of which resembles the carapace of a tortoise. His attendant wives shoot ray-arrows from the chariot. An umbrella covers him, while halo-like rays emanate from his person. The quadriga here more closely resembles the Western model. The composition does not admit of accessories as the semicircular tympanum does.

Note.—This representation of Sūrya in a quadriga was also in vogue in Gandhāra and Udiana. A small group in the museum represents him thus; while two large capitals of Indo-Corinthian Columns found by me in the Swat valley show the remains of a very fine sculpture of Sūrya in his quadriga.

A. E. C.



A Tibetan Guide-book to the lost Sites of the Buddha's Birth and Death.—
By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., LL.D.

[Read, August, 1896].

I am surprised that no one seems to have noticed that the Aṣṭka-edict-pillar, which was found three years ago in the Nepalese *tarai* by a Nepalese officer on a shooting excursion, has an importance far beyond that of its own mere inscription, interesting as that is, for it supplies a clue to the hitherto undiscovered birth-place of Çākya Muni, which after Bōdh-Gayā was perhaps the most celebrated Buddhist shrine, and which at Hiuen Tsiang's visit in the 7th century A.D., contained magnificent structural remains including several inscribed Aṣṭka-pillars and a monastery with 3,000 monks; and its exploration must throw a flood of light on the origin of the Çākya race and other problems of those almost prehistoric times in which Buddhism had its first beginnings.

This pillar of Kōṣākamana in the Nepalese *tarai*, appears still to be fixed in its original position; and that most trustworthy topographer, Hiuen Tsiang, records that the 'city' of Kapilavastu lay within seven miles or so to the north-west of this very identical pillar.¹ Fa Hian also states that that town lay one *yōjana* (about 7 miles) to the west of the *stupa* of this pillar.²

This important indication which this new Aṣṭka-pillar affords, struck me at once on reading Professor Bühler's translation of its inscription in the *Academy* of April 27th of 1895; but I find that the full official report on the pillar contains no reference to the indications which this pillar supplies us with in regard to the site of Kapilavastu and its suburbs.

It is true that General Cunningham and one of his most incompetent assistants, some years ago claimed to have discovered this long lost city in the village of Bhula in the Basti district of the N.-W. Provinces; but that this identification was altogether false, like the General's identification of the not far distant Kasiā as the site of the Buddha's death, must

¹ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II. 19.

² *id.*, I, xlix.

immediately be evident to anyone who takes the trouble to look into his reports on the subject and to compare these with the accounts of Hiuen Tsiang and Fa Hian, which are our chief guides on this question. Not only are its position, topography, and surroundings quite out of keeping with the recorded description, but no characteristic structural remains were obtained on digging.

Now, however, we seem to have in this Nepalese pillar a guide to carry us to the very spot.

This pillar of the shrine of the Buddha Kōṇākamana lies in the Nepalese *tarai* near the village of Niglivā, thirty-eight miles north-west of Uska on the Bengal and North-Western railway, in the north of the Gōrakhpur district of the N.-W. Provinces. The ruins of the town of Kapilavastu ought therefore to be found within about 6 or 8 miles to the north-west of this pillar, (30 *li* to the S.-W. and thence 50 *li* to the N.) The Lumbinī garden should lie a little to the north; and about 5 miles (30 *li*) to the south-west should be found the old town of 'Napiki' with the relic-stupa of the Buddha Krakucchanda, which also has its inscribed Aṣōka-pillar.¹

In this connection, I have found in the possession of a Tibetan Lāma, a guide-book to the Buddhist shrines of India which also places Kapilavastu near the hills on the frontier of Nepal. This guide-book is in MS., Tibetan, and its author has apparently not visited India himself. It is compiled, he says, partly from the records of Hiuen Tsiang and the Indian 'Gau-pan,' and partly from hearsay narratives of pilgrim monks. But its chief value lies in the fact that it gives the relatively modern names of towns and rivers *en route*. It has no date, probably it is not more than a few centuries old. I here extract the paragraphs bearing upon the sites in question:—

"Going from that place (Banaras) not far to the north-west is the country of Kōsala, now called 'Tikṣa' or 'Ayōdhya,' situated on the bank of the river named 'Dhou-ha' (? Dewa) or 'Sarjapu.' Here in this country was the great city of Ārāvastī,² containing the palace of King Prasēnajit, but now traces only remain of the fort, which is called Kōsala-purī. Inside the fort are traces of the stupa built over the seat of the Guide (the Buddha) when he preached here, and also several other stupas founded by the faithful ones. On either side of the eastern gate of the city, is a long stone about fifteen fathoms.³ A little further off is a gilded brass⁴ image of the Guide in a great brick building, but I have not heard clearly whether it still exists. To the south of the city about four or five hour's walk there is the

¹ Beal *id.*, II., 18.

² ཨ་རྩ་ཐ་ *Dom.

³ མཉམ་པོ་ལྷ་ mNan-yod.

⁴ གསེར་པམ་ gSar-bzay.

Vihāra of Jētavana where the past Buddhas preached. Near that place is a well where the Buddha washed his hands and there is also a dwelling where the revered Āṇiputra humbled the pride of the miracle-worker Māṇḍalyāputra.

"Three or four hours journey to the north-west of Jētavana, is a dwelling called 'the eye-seeing shrine'¹ where traces of the Guide and of the revered disciples are said to remain up till now. To the north-west of that place and north of Ayōdhya is a great fort called 'Kha-nou.' In the eastern portion of the Jēta forest is a shrine where the Buddha preached to the infidels, and several other shrines at each of which king Aṣōka is said to have built a stupa.

"From here, eight or nine days journey to the east, stands the city of Kapila, the birth-place of our Guide. It was called 'Kapila' or 'the tawny colored town';² at present it is called 'Jaṇa-sipata' or 'the dwelling of victory.'³ One (to reach it) goes through a country where there is a new city called 'Shi-kanta-pura' on the bank of the river Rōhita which flows from the north-east to the south-west. On the northern (or to the north of the) bank of the river Rōhita are the towns called 'Kachi-li-bin,' and 'Bal-po-garh' (which literally means the Nepalese fort, but it may be intended for 'Balaul-garhi' or 'Pāl-pa' of the Nepal sub-Himalayas due north of Gōrakhpur), and the hill of the 'Thag-po' country.⁴ Not far from that hill is a small city called '(r) Do-na-ko-ta' (or ? Āṇanakōṭa),⁵ from which after two or three hours walk to the west, are the traces of Kapila city (? now) called Kapila-di (? di), which is described by Gau-pan and in the travel-records of Thaṇ-ziṇ (Hiuen Tsiang) and in several *sūtras*.

"In the middle of the city are traces of the palace of Cuddhōdana, with an image of the king. Near the palace is also an image of the queen Mahāmāyā (? now) called Mahā-yōgini. Near that place is the dwelling where the Guide was born, with his image. North-east of that place is a stupa erected by Aṣōka where the king was given a name by the Rṣis. In each of the four gates of the city is an image of the 'Youth Siddhārtha,'⁶ with a picture of the miseries of birth, old age and sickness, and of death, and of the (happiness of the) ascetic. In the north-west of the city is a shrine where the Āṇya (youths) were drowned⁷ by 'Virūdhaka.' The many hundred and thousands of the stupas of their bones as described by Thaṇ-ziṇ were seen by some Ācāryas. Outside the southern gate of the city is a stupa erected at the spot where the Buddha

1 མཁའ་མཐོང་གྲ་གནས་ Mig-mthoṅ-bahi-gnas.

2 Ser-skyā-i-groṅ.

4 Thag-po-ynl.

6 Don-grub.

3 rGyal-bahi-gnas.

5 rDo-na-ko-ta.

7 sNub.

when young disputed with the Çākya tribe. Near that stupa is the 'Elephant-pit,' beside which are images of king Siddhārtha, Yaçōdhara, and prince Rahula, as described in the register. And lately the traveller Lālagi has visited them, and seen feasts held there by the people every eight days.

"Not far from the city, towards the south is a great temple with a stone image of the Yakṣa, 'Increase'¹, in a standing posture, this was visited by some Ācāryas.

"One morning's walk to the south of that place is a well which is now called 'Bhagavan-suvadi,' in which it is said whoever bathes is freed from disease.

"Half a day's journey to the south of that place are the shrines of the previous Buddhas Kōṇākamana and Krakucchanda where they were born, as described by Thaṇ-ziṇ (Hiuen Tsiang).

"Again' from the above-mentioned Bhagavan-suvadi, half a day's journey to the north-east is the 'Lambuna' forest, not far from which is the 'Açvō-tha' tree which was held by the right hand of the Guide's mother when he was born.

"North-east of that place is a farm called 'Sahāpara' by the Nepalese, beyond which a little farther is a small country, thought to be 'Kaputa.'"

"From that place, north-east is a thick-forest called 'Jahri-ban,' beyond which after a little more than one day's march is Camalladesh' or 'Bāliya-dēḡ' or 'the powerful country.' In the north-west of this country is the river 'Jahrena' on the bank of which is the Sāl forest under the shade of one of the trees of which the Guide died, in a lying posture with his head directed towards the north, as described by Thaṇ-ziṇ (Hiuen Tsiang).

"Not far east of this is the relic of the Guide which the Indians call 'Krayāta.' Here is an extensive tract of ground of a yellowish-earth where the faithful ones sometimes find pieces of relics about the size of a small grain as described by the Indians.

"To the north of Kapila and 'The Intestine'² country and near Nēpāl is the city of 'Mu-kham-bu-ra' where there is a fortress called 'Mukhyi-drava,' from which, I am told by Lakshināra Singh, (the countries of) Kapila and Magadha may be seen.

"Further east is the country of 'Bhidhiya' (= Bettiah), where in the city of 'Janakapuri' is a bow and arrow of king Rāma. To the east of the palace of the king of this country, after about three days journey, we came to a road which leads to Nēpāl or 'Nam-khu.'

¹ Tibetan 'P'el.Skt. *Vardhamāna*.

² T. *gYod-yul*.

"Not far east from the country of Vaiçālī, is the country called Tirhut which is the permanent residence of the King of Vaiçālī. To the north of that country, but slightly south of Nēpāl is the city of 'Mulkara,' to the south-east of which is the 'Mourang' (= Morang the Nepalese *tarāī* to the North of Purneah) where abound elephants, peacocks and the *rudrākṣa*¹ trees. East of this is a great city called 'Sahesa-ganj' (Saifganj formerly a large town in Purneah District founded by a Muhammadan governor named Saif) which is near to the country of Sikhim.² East of that place (Saifganj) is the river Kauçikā (the Kūṣī), beyond which is Koch Behara ('Kuch Bihār')."

I believe that Kusinagara, where the Buddha died may be ultimately found to the North of Bettiah, and in the line of the Aṣṭka-pillars which lead hither from Patna (Pāṭaliputra).

¹ *Elæocarpus janitrus*, the warty seeds of which are used for Sivaist and Lamaist rosaries.

² 'bRas-mo-ljoṅs, or 'the country of rice.'

On the Kāçmīrī Vowel-System.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S.

[Read November, 1896.]

The only serious attempt to grapple with the intricacies of Kāçmīrī pronunciation is that contained in Major Leech's grammar of the language contained in pp. 397 and ff. of the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIII, for 1844.

For its time Leech's grammar was a wonderful production, but it has the disadvantage of being entirely written in the Roman character, without any definite system of transcription. He gives lists of words classified according to their vowel sounds, and extending over eight pages. These lists (and I have tested every word in them, in the mouth of a Kāçmīrī Paṇḍit) are in the main accurate, but it is generally difficult and sometimes impossible to identify the words he writes, or to reproduce them in either the Persian or the Nāgarī character.

Kāçmīrī is written both in the Persian and in the Çaradā alphabets. The latter belongs to the family of which Dēvanāgarī is the best known member, and will be represented (for convenience sake) by Dēvanāgarī in this paper. The Persian character is used by the Muḥammadans (who form about 93 per cent.), and the Çaradā (Dēvanāgarī) by the Hindūs (who form, say, 6 per cent.) of the population. Carey in his Serampur translation of the New Testament (1821) used the Çaradā character, but since then Missionaries have used either the Persian or the Roman character. The Persian character, with its facile omission of vowel-marks is not suited for representing the intricate vowel-system of Kāçmīrī. And, indeed, to one who is not familiar with the pronunciation of the language from practical experience, it would be impossible to gain merely a faint idea of the correct pronunciation of most Kāçmīrī words, even from a fully vocalized Persian transcription. This is forcibly illustrated by the late Dr. Burkhard's Essays on Kāçmīrī. He transliterated rigidly from the Persian character, and hence, as a means for giving a practical colloquial acquaintance with the language, his papers are of little value, though of great value in other respects.

The various systems of transliteration into the Roman character with the help of diacritical marks added to the vowels, are based on the Persian method of transcription, and have most of its faults. For instance Wade in his grammar represents three distinct *a* sounds viz., *ū*, *aⁱ* and *a* by one sign *a*. Another *a* sound, viz., *a^u*, he represents by *o*: and at the same time uses the same sign to represent the *ō* in *cob*, an altogether different sound.

The Çaradā (Dēvanāgarī) system of writing Kāçmīrī has the advantage of using fixed definite signs for fixed definite sounds. To those accustomed to the simpler, if less perfect systems hitherto in vogue, it, no doubt, looks clumsy, but, after considerable hesitation, I have come to the conclusion that, whether for the purposes of science or for the benefit of learners, the only satisfactory way of transcribing Kāçmīrī in the Roman character is to follow the Çaradā system with a few minor modifications.

The Çaradā system is based upon actual facts of the language. Kāçmīrī differs from other Indian languages in using vowels at the end of a word which are either silent or nearly so, but which modify the pronunciation of the vowel of the preceding syllable. To an Englishman or Russian this is a commonplace of spelling. An Englishman pronounces the *a* in the word *mar*, in a certain way. By adding an *e*, he gets the word *mare*, in which the final *e* is silent, but modifies the pronunciation of the preceding *a*. In Kāçmīrī these silent (or nearly silent) vowels are called by Hindū Grammarians, *mātrās*, and there are three of them, viz., *i-mātrā*, *u-mātrā*, and *ū-mātrā* which are represented in the Çaradā character by the ordinary signs for *i*, *u*, and *ū* respectively with the sign for *virāma* appended. The mark ' is also placed over the preceding vowel to show that it is modified. In the Roman character they are conveniently represented by a small *i*, *u* or *ū*, above the line, a dot being placed under the preceding vowel to indicate modification. Examples are क[॑]रि *karⁱ*, they (masc.) were made; क[॑]रु *kar^u*, he was made; and क[॑]रु *kar^ū*, she was made. Speaking very roughly, the first may be said to be pronounced something like the English pronunciation of *Kyrie* (in *Kyrie eleison*), the second something like *core* (English mute *e*), and the third something like *kür* (German *ü*). In the Persian character, the first is written ک[ۛ]ر *karⁱ*, the second ک[ۛ]ر *kar^u*, and the third indifferently ک[ۛ]ر *kar* or ک[ۛ]ر *kir*. Mr. Wade transcribes the first *karⁱ*, the second *kor*, and the third *kar*.

Of these *mātrās* it may be said that *u* and *ū* are as a rule absolutely silent, while *i* is just heard.

The history of these modified sounds is evident enough. It will suffice to take *u-mātrā* as an example. The Skr. कृतः *kṛtaḥ*, done, became in Apabhraṃṣa Prākṛit करिउ *kariu*, from which was derived the old Kāçmīrī कर *karu*. By epenthesis, of which the Kāçmīrī is extremely fond, this became pronounced कउर् *kaur* whence we get the modern pronunciation 'core.' The old spelling was, however, retained, but the mark of *virāma* was added to show that the final *u* was silent. So also करि *kari*, represents an Apabhraṃṣa *करिइ *kariī* and कर् *kar* represents an Apabhraṃṣa, *करिआ *kariā* or करी *kari*. It can easily be shown that *ū-mātrā* represents an older *ī*, not an older *ū*. Words in *ū-mātrā* are nearly all feminine forms of masculines in *u-mātrā*, a fact which explains the adoption of the long *ū* sign as a substitute for the long *ī*.

Sometimes by the addition of suffixes these *mātrā*-vowels cease to be at the end of a word. If the suffix consists of a single consonant, they are then fully pronounced (still, however, modifying the preceding vowel) and the sign of *virāma* is omitted. In this case, *ū-mātrā* takes the sound of a short German *ü*. Thus, if we add the suffix *n*, meaning 'by him,' to the above words, we get from करि *kari*, करिन् *karin* (pronounced something like *kyrin*); from कर् *kar*, कर्न् *karun* (pronounced something like *korun*); and from कर् *kar*, कर्न् *karun*, (pronounced something like *kürün*).¹ If, however, the suffix consists of a consonant and a vowel, or more, the *mātrā* vowels remain unpronounced. Thus, take the suffix *wa*, by you. Adding this to करि *kari* we get करिब *kariwa*, (pr. *kyrwa*); to कर् *kar*, we get कर्ब *karwa* (*korwa*); and to कर् *kar*, we get कर्व *kürwa*. Again, adding the suffix *tha-s*, by thee I (was made), we get कर्थस् *kar^uthas* (*korthas*), masc. and कर्थस् *kürthas*, fem.

The effect of these mute or *mātrā* vowels upon pronunciation of preceding vowels, forms the main subject of this paper.

Before dealing with them, it will be convenient to glance at the Kāçmīrī consonantal system. This is, in the main, the same as that which we meet in the Dēvanāgarī Alphabets. It must be observed, however, that Kāçmīrī, has no soft aspirates (*gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, and *bh*), The letter *jh* becomes *z*. Thus from Apabhraṃṣa बुज्झइ, *bujjhai*, we have the Kāçmīrī बोजि *bōzi*, he will hear. The other letters simply lose their aspiration, e.g., Hindi ✓ *ghēr*, surround, but Kāçmīrī *gēr*, and so on.

Kāçmīrī has developed a new set of palatals, viz., च ङ् and ञ्,

¹ It must be clearly understood that these spellings do not do more than approximately indicate the pronunciation of these words. The exact pronunciation will be dealt with later on.

pronounced (and transliterated) *ts*, *tsʰ*, and *z* respectively. The nasal अ *ña* is pronounced *nyě*, and is treated as if it was spelled न्य. With Virāma (अ्) it is pronounced *ñy*, and is treated as if it was न्य *ny̐*.

As regards transliteration; it seems to me that the only satisfactory way, so far as this article is concerned, is to follow the Çaradā spelling throughout. The mātṛā-vowels should be represented by a small letter above the line, and modified vowels should have a dot under them to warn the reader that they are modified. How they are modified is to be gathered from the particular mātṛā which follows, and from the following rules. The only exception I make to this system of transcription is the representative of the *ö*-sound in *cob*, and the *ě*-sound in *ebb*. These, in Çaradā are represented by *wa* (or *ʋ*) and *ya* respectively, following a consonant. Thus वच्चा (or वुच्चा) *twahya* (or *tʰhya*) (pr. *töhhě*). As this *wa* and *ya* do not convey to the reader the sounds they represent, I transliterate them (when they represent these sounds) by *ö* and *ě* respectively.

I now proceed to deal with the vowels in due order. The lists of words given by Leech, in his paper above referred to, have been carefully read over with me by Paṇḍit Mukund Rām of Sirinagar,¹ and every word which we have been able to identify has been written down in the Devanāgarī character, and its pronunciation discussed. Many new words, illustrating new rules, have also been added.

अ *a* is usually pronounced as the short *a* in America.

The following are examples.

शलख् *çalakh*, a beating.
 वनख् *wanakh*, thou wilt say.
 खटख् *khatakh*, thou wilt conceal.
 फटख् *phaṭakh*, thou wilt be drowned.
 गनख् *ganakh*, thou wilt congeal.
 मानख् *mānakh*, thou wilt obey.
 रटख् *raṭakh*, thou wilt take.
 वरख् *barakh*, thou wilt regret.
 जरख् *zarakh*, thou wilt endure.
 अलख् *alakh*, thou wilt be shaken.
 वलख् *valakh*, thou wilt throw over.
 a person.

गलख् *galakh*, thou wilt melt.
 मरख् *marakh*, thou wilt die.
 चटख् *tsatakh*, thou wilt tear.
 चलख् *tsalakh*, thou wilt flee.

वटख् *vaṭakh*, thou wilt roll up.
 पकख् *pakakh*, thou wilt go.
 रक्ख् *rachakh*, thou wilt protect.
 रनख् *ranakh*, thou wilt cook.
 खनख् *khanakh*, thou wilt dig.
 मेनख् *mēnakh*, thou wilt measure.
 असख् *asakh*, thou wilt laugh.
 दजख् *dazakh*, thou wilt be burnt.
 सरख् *sarakh*, thou wilt experience.
 मलख् *malakh*, thou wilt rub.
 खलख् *khalakh*, thou wilt be opened.
 बलख् *balakh*, thou wilt recover.
 डलख् *ḍalakh*, thou wilt slip.
 गर *gar^a*, a house.
 अचुन् *atsun*, to enter.
 अल्यौव् *alyauv*, he shook.

¹ I must express my obligations to Dr. Stein for obtaining for me so excellent an assistant and teacher.

In monosyllabic words ending in an aspirated consonant, *a* takes nearly the sound of the *ä* in *hat*, thus क़ख् *kräkh*, a noise, but क़क *krak^a*, noises. कठ् *kāṭh*, a ram, gen. sg. कठ सन्दु *kaṭ^a sandu*. This difference is not marked in writing. I shall represent it by *ä*.

A final *a* is very lightly pronounced, and is therefore written above the line, as in *krak^a*, above. With regard to final *ya*, vide post (page 304).

This lightly pronounced *a* also occurs between consonants. In such cases, in the Çāradā character, the two consonants are compounded, and the vowel neglected. We thus get seemingly impossible combinations, such as the word दह् or literatim *tsh^ah*, which cannot be possibly pronounced as written. The word is really pronounced *tsh^ah*, and means 'thou.' So also in many other words, e.g., कू (which I prefer to write हनु) pronounced *h^anu*, he has swollen; डू (डनु) *d^anu*, he shook out; कु (कुत्) *k^atu*, he was wet; रू (रश्) *r^aç*, spite; गहु (गज्) *g^ahu*, he ground: ददरू *dad^ar^u*, the edible part of a cucumber; बबूरू *bab^ar^u*, a flower; गाटज् *gāṭ^aj*, clever (fem.); क़तूर *phōṭ^ar*,¹ a basket. The sound of this letter is very obscure and closely resembles that of the obscure vowel in the English termination *ble*, usually called the neutral vowel. It is liable to modification by a following *i*-, *u*-, or *ū-mātrā*, but its sound is so short, that only an acute ear can distinguish its various shades. Wade illustrates this *a* as well as the *a* modified by *ū-mātrā*, by *a*, a system which lends to endless confusion, unless some clue is given to the modifying vowel.

Īçwara-kaula in his Kāçmīrī *Dhātu-pāṭha*, also notes a modified *a*, which is not followed by a *mātrā*-vowel. It is pronounced slightly more labially than an ordinary *a*: i.e., a tinge of *o* is given to it; and it is, apparently, the short form of *ā* (*ö*). It closely resembles the ordinary sound of *a* in Eastern Bihārī, which is not nearly so broad as the corresponding sound in Bengali, but is still somewhat broader than the usual *a* of Benares-Hindī. The difference between *a* is however, so very slight that it would pass unheeded by an ordinary ear. The sound occurs in the following verbal roots (including their causals, which I omit). It will be seen that with the exception of the root प्रखट् *prakh^at*, which is hardly an exception, in every single instance the *a* is followed by a compound consonant the last member of which is *r*.

¹ Īçwara-kaula spells all these with compound consonants. I prefer, deliberately, to write them with *virāma*, and shall do so in future. Mr. Hinton Knowles, whose authority is undoubted, would transcribe these words *hunu*, *dunu*, *kut^au* (there is a difference of opinion as to the correct form of the part of the root *k^at^a*. I. K. makes it *kt^u*), *riç* and *guh^u*. This well illustrates the indefinite nature of the sound which, in the Çāradā character, is represented by *virāma*, or absence of any vowel whatever.

The examples moreover include every case of an *a* followed by such a conjunct given in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and we are entitled to lay down the rule, that when *a* is followed by a compound consonant, the last member of which is *r* (or *ṭ*), it is modified to *a*.

अदर *adar*, be moist.

अन्जर *anzar*, finish.

अबर *abar*, cloud up.

कन्जर *kanzar*, be impoverished.

गन्जर *ganzar*, count.

चकर *chakar*, scatter.

चत्तराव *chat^{ar}rāv*, make white.

चूपर *chupar* (pr. almost *chupar*), spend.

चकर *t^{sh}wakar* (pr. almost *t^{sh}ukar*), make angry. [defile.

चटर *t^{sh}yaṭar* (pr. almost *t^{sh}hiṭar*),

चवर *t^{sh}yaavar* (pr. almost *t^{sh}hivar*), put out (fire).

चुटर *t^{sh}waṭar* (pr. almost *t^{sh}hutar*), make short.

डखर *ḍakhar*, depend upon.

तचर *tat^{ar}*, make hot.

तचर *tañ^{ar}*, make thin.

वचराव *traṭ^{ar}rāv*, cause to fear.

वसराव *tra^{ar}rāv*, cause to fear.

चशराव *trwaṣ^{ar}rāv*, (pr. almost *tru^{ar}ṣ^{ar}rāv*), make hard.

थजर *thazar*, make high.

ददराव *ḍaḍ^{ar}rāv*, make wasted.

द्रवग्राव *drwaga^{ar}rāv* (pr. almost *drug^a-rāv*), price highly.

दबर *dwab^{ar}* (pr. almost *dub^{ar}*), bury.

नजराव *nañ^{ar}rāv*, make naked.

नटराव *naṭ^{ar}rāv*, cause to shake.

नमर *nwam^{ar}* (pr. almost *num^{ar}*), cause to bow.

नवर *nuvar* (pr. almost *nuv^{ar}*), make excessive.

पजर *pajar*, fell a hem (in sewing).

पजर *pazar*, decide the truth.

पठर *paṭhar* (Mr. Knowles would write *paṭh^{ar}*), clean (fish).

प्रखट *prak^{at}*, be manifest.

फसर *phas^{ar}*, entangle.

बचराव *ba^{ar}ṣ^{ar}rāv*, protect.

बहर *baḍar*, cause to be great.

बदराव *baḍ^{ar}rāv*, bake bread.

बन्जर *banzar*, divide.

बलर *bal^{ar}*, cure.

ब्यजर *byañ^{ar}* (pr. almost *biñ^{ar}*), make separate.

ब्रमर *bram^{ar}*, mislead.

मचराव *maṭ^{ar}ṣ^{ar}rāv*, madden.

मन्जर *manzar*, make imperfect.

मसर *maṣ^{ar}*, cause to forget.

मठर *muṭ^{ar}*, (pr. almost *muṭ^{ar}*), make fat.

मण्डर *mwand^{ar}* (pr. almost *munḍ^{ar}*), make blunt.

मदुर *mwad^{ar}* (pr. almost *mud^{ar}*), be sweet.

रकर *raṭ^{ar}ṣ^{ar}*, put in order.

लदर *lyad^{ar}* (pr. almost *lid^{ar}*), be yellow.

वडर *wad^{ar}*, bury.

व्यजर *vyaz^{ar}* (pr. almost *viz^{ar}*), decide.

व्यजर *vyañ^{ar}* (pr. almost *viñ^{ar}*), separate.

वट् <i>vyathar</i> (pr. almost <i>vi^har</i>), make fat.	स्वत्सराव <i>swatsarāv</i> (pr. almost <i>sutsarāv</i>) appease.
वट् <i>vyadar</i> (pr. almost <i>vidar</i>), be slack.	स्वम्बर <i>swambar</i> (pr. almost <i>sumbar</i>) make level.
वपत् <i>vyapar</i> (pr. almost <i>vipar</i>), cause to pervade.	हट् <i>hatar</i> , make thin.
ववत् <i>vyavar</i> (pr. almost <i>vivar</i>), scatter.	हन्द् <i>handar</i> , be cold.
सज् <i>sañar</i> , make deep.	हक्ख <i>hwakkar</i> (pr. almost <i>hukkar</i>), make dry.
सज्ज <i>sanzar</i> , be ready.	हक्खराव <i>hwatsarāv</i> (pr. almost <i>hutsarāv</i>), cause to become de- cayed.
सज्ज <i>syazar</i> (pr. almost <i>sizar</i>), make straight.	हक्ख <i>hwakkar</i> (pr. almost <i>hubar</i>), conquer.
सज्जराव <i>syañarāv</i> (pr. almost <i>siñarāv</i>), make soft.	हक्ख <i>hwammar</i> (pr. almost <i>hummar</i>), appease.
सन्द <i>syandar</i> (pr. almost <i>sindar</i>) become red.	

When the vowel *a* is modified by *i-mātrā*, it is pronounced nearly as the *ä* in *hat*. The *i-matra* is also very lightly pronounced, both in the same syllable as the *ä*, with the *ä*, as well as in its own syllable. This has led to various methods of transcription. For instance, some transcribe अस् *as* by *ais*, and others by *asⁱ*. The true pronunciation is something like *asⁱ*. I prefer to transcribe it by *asⁱ*, which follows the native system. The *i-mātrā* is shown in its proper place, and a dot (corresponding to the Çaradā ¹) is placed under the *a* to show that it is modified. The following are examples of *a* modified by *i-mātrā*.

अस् <i>asⁱ</i> , pronounced <i>aⁱsⁱ</i> , we.	जरि <i>zarⁱ</i> (<i>zaⁱrⁱ</i>), deaf (masc. pl.)
करि <i>karⁱ</i> , pr. <i>kaiⁱ</i> , bracelets.	खकि <i>khakhi</i> (<i>khaⁱkhⁱ</i>), name of caste (masc. pl.)
पपि <i>papⁱ</i> , pr. <i>paiⁱ</i> , ripe (masc. pl.)	बडि <i>baḍⁱ</i> (<i>baⁱḍⁱ</i>), great (masc. pl.)
दरि <i>darⁱ</i> (<i>daⁱrⁱ</i>), strong (masc. pl.)	गति <i>gaṭⁱ</i> (<i>gaⁱṭⁱ</i>), thin, weak (masc. pl.)
खरि <i>khari</i> (<i>khaⁱrⁱ</i>), having a scald- head (m. pl.)	खति <i>khati</i> (<i>khaⁱṭⁱ</i>), cupboards (masc. pl.)
चरि <i>tsarⁱ</i> (<i>tsaⁱrⁱ</i>), many (masc. pl.)	

When *a* is followed by *u-mātrā* it takes a sound which it is easy to describe, but which it is difficult to express in writing. It is the short sound corresponding to the long *ō* in the English word *home*. It may be represented by *o*, *i.e.*, the short sound of *ō*. It has nothing to do with the short *o* in the English word *cob*, which also occurs in Kāçmīrī but is represented differently (see pages 294 and 304). The *u-mātrā* itself is

hardly pronounced at all. Paṇḍits say it can be heard, but when they say they pronounce it, its sound altogether fails to reach my ear. That is probably the fault of my ear, but it is not an exceptionally dull one. All that I hear is the final consonant immediately preceding the *u-mātrā*, pronounced with exceptional clearness. In English, we have a habit of clipping our final consonants. Thus, in the English word *bad*, the *d* is only half pronounced. If we added an *u-mātrā* in Kāçmīrī we should to an English ear, only fully complete the pronunciation of the final *d*, or in other words double it. I would therefore, represent the pronunciation of such a Kāçmīrī word as *baḍʷ*, great, by *boḍḍ*, in which the doubled *d* means that the tongue must not only touch the palate to get the sound of *d*, but must also be mostly drawn back, after a perceptible interval, so as to complete the explosion.

The dot under the *a* corresponds to the ' of the Çaradā character, and warns the reader that the *a* is modified by the following *u-mātrā*.

Wade transcribes this *a* modified by *u-mātrā*, by *o*. As he also transcribes the *o* sound of *cob*, by the same sign, great confusion is caused to the learner.

The following are examples of *a* modified by *u-mātrā*.

[Note that every word ending in *u-mātrā* is masculine, and that all nouns ending in *u-mātrā* belong to Wade's 2nd declension].

बड़ <i>baḍʷ</i> , pronounced <i>bodd</i> ; great (m. sg.)	नल <i>naḷʷ</i> (<i>noll</i>), an entire cowrie.
खल <i>khəḷʷ</i> (<i>kholl</i>), open, loose.	बल <i>baḷʷ</i> (<i>boll</i>), recovered in health.
मर <i>maṛʷ</i> (<i>morr</i>), a hut, a fowl-house.	बर <i>baṛʷ</i> (<i>borr</i>), a hole in a wall, for entrance.
दड़ <i>daḍʷ</i> (<i>dodd</i>), burnt.	गर <i>gaṛʷ</i> (<i>gorr</i>), made.
खत <i>khəṭʷ</i> , (<i>khott</i>), a place of concealment, a wall-cupboard.	थड़ <i>thəḍʷ</i> (<i>thodd</i>), tall.
लड़ <i>laḍʷ</i> (<i>lodd</i>), made.	चड़ <i>tsəḍʷ</i> (<i>tsodd</i>), a round basin for milk.
खड़ <i>khəḍʷ</i> (<i>khodd</i>), pudendum muliebre.	गड़ <i>gaḍʷ</i> (<i>godd</i>), a hole.
कल <i>kaḷʷ</i> (<i>koll</i>), dumb.	चड़ <i>tsəṭʷ</i> (<i>tsott</i>), cut. [ment.]
फड़ <i>phaṭʷ</i> (<i>phott</i>), drowned.	दल <i>daḷʷ</i> (<i>doll</i>), the skirt of a garment.
रड़ <i>raṭʷ</i> (<i>rott</i>), taken.	नर <i>naṛʷ</i> (<i>norr</i>), sleeve.
मल <i>maḷʷ</i> (<i>mott</i>), mad.	चर <i>tsaṛʷ</i> (<i>tsorr</i>), more.
लल <i>laḷʷ</i> (<i>lott</i>), light, gentle (of speaking.)	गल <i>gaḷʷ</i> (<i>gott</i>), thin, weak.
	बल <i>baḷʷ</i> (<i>chott</i>), white.

When *a* is followed by *u-mātrā* it takes a sound closely corresponding to that of the German *u*. As in the case of *u-mātrā*, paṇḍits say

that the *ū-mātrā* is pronounced (be it ever so lightly), but to me, all that I can hear is the full pronunciation of the final consonant, which, under the head of *u-mātrā*, I attempted to illustrate by doubling it. The pronunciation of the word क॑रु *kar^u*, would therefore be illustrated by *kürr*. Wade represents the *ū* sound by *a*, which as before explained, gives rise to confusion. As explained before, I transliterate the Çaradā characters as they stand, the dot under the *a*, showing that it is modified by the following *ū-mātrā*, and corresponding to the Çaradā ¹.

The following are examples of *a* modified by a following *ū-mātrā*.

[Most words ending in *ū-mātrā* are feminine, and belong to the third declension. There are, however, some masculines, e.g., दान॑ *dān^u*, a pomegranate, which belong to the first declension.]

क॑रु <i>kar^u</i> (pronounced <i>kürr</i>), a beam, she was made by us.	व॑ट <i>waṭ^u</i> (<i>wütt</i>), rolled up.
ज॑रु <i>zar^u</i> (<i>zürr</i>), a deaf woman.	ब॑ड <i>baḍ^u</i> (<i>büḍḍ</i>), a great woman.
ब॑रु <i>bar^u</i> (<i>bürr</i>), a crack in wood.	ग॑रु <i>gar^u</i> (<i>gürr</i>), a pitcher.
न॑रु <i>nar^u</i> (<i>nürr</i>), the lower part of the arm.	ख॑रु <i>tshar^u</i> (<i>tshürr</i>), empty, a bas ket.
ख॑रु <i>ar^u</i> (<i>ürr</i>) well, strong.	ख॑रु <i>khār^u</i> (<i>khürr</i>), a she ass.
ब॑ठ <i>baṭh^u</i> (<i>bütt^h</i>), a hob.	व॑रु <i>war^u</i> (<i>würr</i>), dried pease pud- ding.
द॑रु <i>dar^u</i> (<i>dürr</i>), a strong woman.	प॑ट <i>paṭ^u</i> (<i>pütt</i>), a small plank.
च॑ट <i>tsaṭ^u</i> (<i>tsütt</i>), she was cut.	ख॑ट <i>khṭ^u</i> (<i>khütt</i>), concealed (fem.)
ज॑ट <i>zaṭ^u</i> (<i>zütt</i>) torn, tattered (fem.)	फ॑ट <i>phaṭ^u</i> (<i>phütt</i>), drowned.
र॑ट <i>raṭ^u</i> (<i>rütt</i>), she was taken.	य॑ड <i>yaḍ^u</i> (<i>yüḍḍ</i>), bellies.

The following are examples of *ā*, which is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi.

काठ॑ <i>kāṭh</i> , wood (masc.)	बाँइ॑ <i>bāṇḍ</i> , a dancing boy (masc.)
काळ॑ <i>kāṭsh</i> , glass, pottery (masc.)	शाँइ॑ <i>ṣāṇḍ</i> , a pillow (masc.)
काह॑ <i>kāḍ</i> , width (especially of a river) (masc.)	चाँइ॑ <i>cāṇḍ</i> , centre of a shawl or handkerchief (fem.)
काडु॑ <i>kād</i> , a representative (masc.)	माँइ॑ <i>māṇḍ</i> , working of dough (fem.)
गाल॑ <i>gāl</i> , shame (fem.)	बांग॑ <i>bāṅ</i> , a call to prayers (fem.)
टाख॑ <i>tāk^h</i> , name of a caste (masc.)	दाँइ॑ <i>dāṇḍ</i> , a bullock (masc.)
डाख॑ <i>dāk^h</i> , ashes (masc.)	ब्राँइ॑ <i>brāṇḍ</i> , a verandah (masc.)
पाफ॑ <i>pāph</i> , a sin (masc.)	माँइ॑ <i>māch</i> , honey (masc.)
ताख॑ <i>tāk^h</i> , opening in a wall (masc.)	दान॑ <i>dān</i> , a cooking place (masc.)
नाडु॑ <i>nād</i> , a sound (masc.)	प्रान॑ <i>prān</i> , an onion (masc.)
लाँज॑ <i>lāz</i> , a stake (masc.)	वान॑ <i>wān</i> , a shop (masc.)
डांग॑ <i>dāṅ</i> , a club (masc.)	रान॑ <i>rān</i> , a thigh (fem.)

The letter *ā* is often modified to *ā̄*, the sound of which may be represented by the German *ö*. It is, however, a prolonged sound, drawled out, so to speak, and there is a touch of the sound of *ä* in the English word *hall* in it, so that *ö* is not a perfectly correct representation, though the nearest available. Another way of considering the sound is to say that it is something between that of the *ea* of *earl*, and the *aw* of *awl*. The sound is a very peculiar one, and can really only be learned by the ear.

The following are examples of this letter, which is evidently derived from a long *ā* followed by an original *i* or *y*. *E. g.* आस् *ās* is derived from the Skr. *āsyañi*, through **āis*.

पाँच् <i>pā̄ts</i> , five.	वाँख <i>wā̄kh</i> , (<i>wōkh</i>) a ringlet (fem.)
लाँख <i>lā̄kh</i> , (pr. <i>lōkh</i>) a stride (fem.)	आस् <i>ās</i> , (<i>ös</i>) a mouth (masc.)
वाँच् <i>wā̄tsh</i> , (pr. <i>wōtsh</i>) deceiving (fem.)	आर् <i>ār</i> , (<i>ör</i>) a kind of fruit (masc.) pl. आर् <i>ār</i> .
लाँच् <i>lā̄tsh</i> , (pr. <i>lōtsh</i>) a eunuch (masc.)	क्राज् <i>krāj</i> , (<i>krōj</i>) a potter's wife, (fem. of क्राल् <i>krāl</i>).

When *ā* is followed by *i-mātrā* or by *ū-mātrā* it always becomes modified to *ā̄*. As usual the *i-mātrā* is very slightly heard both before and after the succeeding consonant. The *ū-mātrā* is, to my ears, not audible, though the preceding consonant is somewhat more strongly pronounced, which I represent by doubling it.

When *ā* is followed by *u-mātrā* it is pronounced *ō*, and is so written. Thus take the verb चारुन् *tsārun*, to sort, arrange. The root is चार *tsār*. The past tense masculine singular is formed by adding *u-mātrā* to the root, and is therefore चोरु *tsōrū*. The feminine singular past is however, formed by adding *ū-mātrā*, and the original *ā* is therefore not changed to *ō*, but is modified to *ā̄*, thus चार् *tsār̄*. So the masculine plural is चारि *tsār̄i*. The feminine plural, however, is formed by adding *yā* which does not modify the preceding *ā̄*, and we have चार्थ *tsāryā* (i.e., *tsār̄ē*, see page 304). So also the base क्रान् *krān*-, a relation, has its nom. sg. क्रोन् *krōn*, and its nom. pl. क्रानि *krāni*. Its dative plural is however, क्रान्यन् *krānyan* in which the original base क्रान् *krān*- is retained, without modifying the *ā* to *ā̄* or changing it to *ō*, because it is followed by *yā*, and not by *i-mātrā*, *u-mātrā*, or *ū-mātrā*. This point is important. It explains many difficulties in Kāçmīrī declension and conjugation, and, so far as I know, attention has not previously been drawn to it. In dictionaries, the nom. form क्रोन् *krōn* is given, but it would be better to give the declensional base क्रान् *krān*-, which is the original word. Note, however, that *ā* is the only vowel which is modified not only by *i-mātrā*, but even by a fully pronounced *i* when following it. Thus the dat.

sg. of *krān-* is *क्रानिस् krānis*, not *क्रानिस् krānis*. This is not the case with other vowels: e.g., the dat. sg. of *पोथ् pōth-* (feminine) is *पोथि pōthi* (fully pronounced *i*), not *पूथि pūthi*, while the nom. sg. (with *i-mātrā*) is *पूथि pūthi*, with the *ō* changed to *ū* (see page 302).

The following are examples of *ā* followed by *i-mātrā*.

क्रानि krāni, pr. *krōni*, relations, *ब्यालि byāli* (*byōli*), seeds (pl. of (pl. of *क्रानु krōn*)).
दानि dāni (*dōni*), churn-sticks, (pl. of *दानु dōn*)).

The following are examples of *ō* followed by *u-mātrā*. As just explained, they are really instances of *ā* being followed by *u-mātrā*, and therefore changed to *ō*. They are all masculine nouns in *u-mātrā*. The nom. masc. plurals all end in *i-mātrā* preceded by *ā*. Thus *cyōn*, nom. plur. *cyāni*. The pronunciation of the *ō* is nearly like that of Sanskrit and Hindi, but is slightly drawled till it approaches that of *au* in *cause*, as befits its derivation from *ā* and *u*.

म्योन <i>myōn</i> (for <i>myān</i> - <i>u</i>)	pronounced <i>myōnn</i> , my (masc.)
च्योन <i>cyōn</i> (<i>cyān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>cyōnn</i> , thine (masc.)
प्रोन <i>prōn</i> (<i>prān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>prōnn</i> , ancient (masc.)
दोन <i>dōn</i> (<i>dān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>dōnn</i> , a churn-stick (masc.)
क्रोर <i>krōr</i> (<i>krār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>krōrr</i> , a scab
ब्रोर <i>brōr</i> (<i>brār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>brōrr</i> , a cat (masc.)
चोर <i>cōr</i> (<i>cār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>cōrr</i> , an idiot (masc.)
क्रोन <i>krōn</i> (<i>krān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>krōnn</i> , a relation.
गोल <i>gōl</i> (<i>gāl</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>gōll</i> , a kind of grain.
चोन <i>tsōn</i> (<i>tsān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>tsōnn</i> , he entered.
द्योर <i>dyōr</i> (<i>dyār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>dyōrr</i> , rich (masc.)
चोर <i>tsōr</i> (<i>tsār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>tsōrr</i> , he was collected, four.
प्योर <i>pyōr</i> (<i>pyār</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>pyōrr</i> , dear (masc.)
ब्योल <i>byōl</i> (<i>byāl</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>byōll</i> , a seed.
द्योन <i>dyōn</i> (<i>dyān</i> - <i>u</i>)	<i>dyōnn</i> , a foundation.

The following are examples *ā* followed by *ū-mātrā*, (including the letter *अ ण*, which is treated as if it was *न्य न्य*)).

चार <i>cār</i> (pr. <i>cōrr</i>), an idiot (fem. of <i>चोर cōr</i>)).	द्यार <i>dyār</i> (<i>dyōrr</i>), a rich woman (fem. of <i>द्योर dyōr</i>) (rare).
ब्रार <i>brār</i> (<i>brōrr</i>), a cat (fem. of <i>ब्रोर brōr</i>)).	आर <i>ār</i> (<i>ōrr</i>), a shoe-maker's awl (pl. <i>आर्य aryā</i> , i.e., <i>ārē</i>).

काङ् *kārū* (*körr*), a neck.

प्याङ् *pyārū* (*pyörr*), dear, beloved
(fem. of प्योङ् *pyōru*). (fem.)

वाङ् *wārū* (*wörr*), a small garden

पाङ् *pārū* (*pörr*), (fem.)

माङ् *mājū* (*müjj*), a mother.

गाङ् *gārū* (*görr*), kernel of Singārā
(fem.)

लाङ् *lārū* (*lörr*), a cucumber, also
she followed, (masc. लोङ् *lōru*
he followed).

प्राङ् *prārū* (*prörr*), she was waited
for (fem. of प्रोङ् *prōru*, he was
waited for).

चाङ् *tsārū* (*tsörr*), she was collect-
ed (masc. चोङ् *tsōru*).

राङ् *rātsū* (*rōtsū*), nights (fem.)

दान् *dānū* (*dönn*), a pomegranate
(masc.)

चाङ् *tsāñ* (*tsöny*), she entered
(masc. चोङ् *tsōnū*).

म्याङ् *myāñ* (*myöny*), mine (fem.
of म्योङ् *myōnū*).

थाङ् *cyāñ* (*cyöny*), thine (fem. of
थोङ् *cyōnū*).

प्राङ् *prāñ* (*pröny*), ancient (fem.
of प्रोङ् *prōnū*).

The vowel *i* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples:—

निश् *nishā*, near.

सिल् *silā*, the disease of consump-
tion (masc.)

फिस् *phis*, a child's penis (fem.)

ठिस् *ṭhis*, noise of a crack (masc.)

निस् *nis*, take away from him.

निन् *nin*, they will take away.

यिस् *yis*, come to him.

यिन् *yin*, they will come.

यिष् *yikh*, thou wilt come.

दिस् *dis*, give to him.

दिन् *din*, they will give.

विल् *vil*, a short space of time
(fem.)

गिल् *gil*, a kind of bird (fem.)

चिष् *tsith*, loss of use of limbs
(fem.)

बिठ् *bith*, an assembly (fem.)

सिष् *sith*, a whisper (masc.)

चिर् *chir*, the stream of milk that
comes out at one pull of the
udder (fem.)

जिन् *jīn*, a demon (masc.)

हिष् *hiç*, the driving away of fowls,
&c. (masc.)

मिष् *miç*, a splinter (fem.)

फिस् फिस् *phis phis*, whispering
(masc.)

किस् *kis*, little finger (fem.)

पिल् *pilun*, to reach.

किल् *kil*, a thrust (fem.)

चिल् *cil*, a stake (masc.)

सिर् *sir*, a secret.

जिद् *zid*, revenge, spite (masc.)

When the vowel *i* commences a word, it is pronounced *yi*: thus—

इह् *ih*, pronounced *yih*, this (nom.)

इमिस् *imis*, *yimis*, this (acc.)

इथे *ithai*, *yithai*, gratis.

इमाम् *imām*, *yimām*, a Musalmān priest.

इन्द्र *indar*, *yindar*, a spinning-wheel.

इमिकनि *imikani*, *yimikani*, thus.

इकुन् *itshun*, *yitshun*, to wish.
 इपट् *ipāt̪̃*, *yipūt̪̃*, the yoke of a plough.

When *i* is followed by *i-mātrā* its pronunciation is not affected. The *i-mātrā* is pronounced only *after* the preceding consonant.

इति *it̪̃* (*yit̪̃*), here.

लिबि *liṽ̪*, they were plastered by us.

मिलि *mil̪̃*, reconciliations.

किलि *kil̪̃*, pegs.

निनि *niñ̪*, about to be taken (masc. plur.)

हिनि *hiñ̪̃*, the neighing of a horse (fem.)

When *i* is followed by *u-mātrā*, it is pronounced *yu*, and the final consonant is fully pronounced, as usual. In such cases the *i* is often written *yu*, and the *u*-matra omitted: thus;

मिल् *mil̪̃* or म्यल् *myul*, both pronounced *myull*, reconciliation.

कित् *kit̪̃* or क्युत् *kyut*, *kyutt*, on account of.

किल् *kil̪̃* or क्यल् *kyul*, *kyull*, a peg.

लिव् *liṽ̪* or ल्युव् *lyuv*, *lyuvv*, he was plastered by us.

न्यचिव् *nēciṽ̪* or न्यच्युव् *nēcyyuv* *nēcyyuvv*, a son.

In the case of three verbs, the different spellings, mean different things; thus

निन् *niñ̪*, to take, न्यन् *nyun*, the act of taking, both pronounced *nyunn*.

दिन् *diñ̪*, to give, द्यन् *dyun*, the act of giving, *dyunn*.

यिन् *yiñ̪*, to come, य्यन् *yyun*, the act of coming, *yyunn*.

When *i* is followed by *ū-mātrā*, it is pronounced something like *yü*, in which *ü* represents a short German *ü*. Thus

लिव् *liṽ̪*, pronounced *lyüvv*, she was plastered by us.

फिर् *phir̪̃* *phyürr*, she was turned over by us.

Instances of this are rare.

The vowel *ī* is pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi, thus,—

शीन् *šiñ̪*, snow (masc.)

When the vowel commences a word, it is pronounced *yī*; thus,

ईरन् *irañ̪*, pronounced *yīrañ̪*, an anvil (fem.)

ईरुन् *iruñ̪*, *yīruñ̪*, to float.

ईद् *id̪̃*, *yīd̪̃*, the Musalman festival.

ईच् *īt̪̃^a*, *yīt̪̃^a*, so much (fem.)

When *ī* is followed by *u-mātrā* it becomes *yū*, and is so written. Thus the word नील् *nīl̪̃*, blue, becomes, and is written, न्यूल *nyūl̪̃* (न्यूल *nyūl* would be better). This accounts for numerous verbal forms of the Past Participle Masculine.

When *i* is followed by *ū-mātrā* its pronunciation is not affected. The final consonant is merely strengthened slightly by the *ū-mātrā*. The following are examples :

फ़ीर *phīrū* (pr. *phīrr*), she rambled.

चीर *cīrū* (pr. *cīrr*), we squeezed her.

शीर *ṣīrū* (pr. *ṣīrr*) we arranged her.

यीर *yīrū*, (pr. *yīrr*), we arranged her (fem.), used of the warp, in weaving: the object must be fem.

नीर *nīrū* (pr. *nīrr*), she came out.

गीर *gīrū* (pr. *gīrr*), we surrounded her.

वीर *vīrū* (pr. *vīrr*), a willow.

कीर *kīrū* (pr. *kīrr*), a poke in the ribs.

हीर *hīrū* (pr. *hīrr*), a head.

सीर *sīrū* (pr. *sīrr*), a brick.

The Vowel *u* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi. Thus

युन् *yun*, to come.

नुन् *nun*, saltish.

कुस् *kus*, who ?

युस् *yus*, who.

हम् *hum*, they.

कुज् *kuz*, a kind of sweet-meat (masc.)

वुथ् *wuth*, drizzling (masc.)

श्रुथ् *sruth*, a sip (masc.)

When the vowel *u* commences a word it is pronounced *wu*, and is often written वु. Thus

उडर् *udar* or वुडर् *wuḍar*, both pronounced *wuḍar*, a plateau (fem.)

उह् *uh* or वुह् *wuh* *wuh*, twenty.

उलर् *ular* or वुलर् *wular* *wular*, name of a pargana.

उनर् *unar* or वुनर् *wunar* *wunar*, mist (fem.)

उफुन् *uphun* or वुफुन् *wuphun* *wuphun*, to fly.

उक्क *uḥka* or वुक्क *wuḥka* *wuḥka*, oats, barley. (fem.)

उथ् *uth* or वुथ् *wuth* *wuth*, a lip (m.)

उठुन् *uthun* or वुठुन् *wuthun* *wuthun*, to twist.

उजमल् *uzamal* or वुजमल् *wuzamal* *wuzamal*, lightning.

There is also a modified *u* which is sounded like the *ö* in *cob*, or nearly so. This I represent by *ö*. It is very commonly written *wa*. In both cases there is a slight *w* sound preceding the *ö*, and, moreover when the vowel is initial the *w* is fully pronounced.

उजुल *özul* or वजुल *wözul*, both pronounced *wözull*, red.

उड़ *öd* or वड़ *wöd* *wöd*, the crown of the head (fem.)

उदुर *ödur* or वदुर *wödur* *wödur*, the belly.

उखुल *ökhuł* or वखुल *wökhuł* *wökhuł*, a mortar.

उथुन *öthun* or वथुन *wöthun* *wöthun*, to rise.

When the sound is medial, only *wa* is written not *u*: Thus,—

दद <i>död</i> , milk (masc.)	बन <i>bön</i> , below.
खद <i>khöd</i> , a pit (masc.)	वल <i>wöl</i> , dregs of <i>ghī</i> (fem.)
चल <i>tsöl</i> , a fireplace (fem.)	वड़ <i>wöd</i> , scalp (fem.)
मल <i>möl</i> , price (masc.)	जल <i>zöl</i> , drowsiness (fem.)
पठ <i>pöth</i> , piles (fem.)	चथ <i>tsöth</i> , breaking wind (fem.)
दख <i>dökh</i> , pain (masc.)	मख <i>mökh</i> , a cut branch (masc.)
छख <i>chökh</i> , a wound (masc.)	दस <i>dös</i> , wall (fem.)
नष <i>nöp</i> , a daughter-in-law (fem.)	खठ <i>khöth</i> , false, (used as a nominal verb.)
खवख <i>khvökh</i> , a snore (masc.)	
सन <i>sön</i> , gold (masc.), a co-wife (fem.)	चन <i>tsön</i> , to the four.
	खन <i>khön</i> , elbow (fem.)

In most of these, a faint *w*-sound is heard before the *o*, but it is hardly necessary to represent it, and it need not be considered for practical purposes. If strict rigour of transliteration is required, then we should write *d^wöd*, *kh^wöd*, &c. In some words, such as *d^wöd* it is more distinct than others, but it depends partly on individual speakers, and partly on whether the speaker is speaking carefully or not.

When *u* is followed by *i-mātrā* its sound is not changed. As usual the *i* is pronounced both before and after the consonant which precedes it; thus,

गुरि <i>guri</i> , pronounced <i>guⁱri</i> , horses.	
शरि <i>şuri</i> , (<i>şuⁱri</i>), children (of either sex).	
मुजि <i>mujⁱ</i> , (<i>muⁱjⁱ</i>), a radish.	
तुजि <i>tujⁱ</i> , (<i>tuⁱjⁱ</i>), a little piece of reed or thin wood.	
बुथि <i>buthⁱ</i> , (<i>buⁱthⁱ</i>) faces (nom. pl.)	

When the vowel *u* is followed by *u-mātrā* its pronunciation is very slightly altered. The change is so slight that it is unnecessary, to reproduce it in transliteration, but, in order to show the extreme niceness of Kāçmirī pronunciation I make the following attempt to teach the reader how to pronounce these two sounds.

When in English we pronounce the *oo* in the word *good*, we pout out the lips, and *keep them pouted* till we have pronounced the *d*. In

Kāçmīrī this word would be written गुद *gud^u*, with *u-mātrā*. This *u* we may call *u²*. If, however, after pouting out the lips, we allow them quickly to resume their original position before commencing to sound the *d* of *good*, it will be noticed that a slightly different tone-colour is given to the *oo*. This sound we may call *u¹*. In Kāçmīrī, an ordinary *u* is pronounced as *u¹*, but when followed by *u-mātrā* it is pronounced as *u²*, the final consonant, as usual being also pronounced more fully than in English. We thus get the following examples

गुद <i>gur^u</i> ,	pronounced <i>gu²rr</i> , a horse (masc.)
जुद <i>zur^u</i> ,	<i>zu²rr</i> , a daughter's son (masc.)
गुद <i>gur^u</i> ,	<i>gu²rr</i> , a child (of either sex) (masc.)
हुद <i>hur^u</i> ,	<i>hu²rr</i> , surplus (masc.)
तुल <i>tul^u</i> ,	<i>tu²ll</i> , we have lifted him.
कुल <i>kul^u</i> ,	<i>ku²ll</i> , a tree (masc.)
गुप <i>gup^u</i> ,	<i>gu²pp</i> a sieve (masc.)
तुक <i>tuk^u</i> ,	<i>tu²kk</i> , we have torn him with the teeth.
रुत <i>rut^u</i> ,	<i>ru²tt</i> , right (not wrong).
बुज <i>buz^u</i> ,	<i>bu²zz</i> , we have parched him.
बुज <i>wuz^u</i> ,	<i>wu²zz</i> , he bubbled up.
कुन <i>kun^u</i> ,	<i>ku²nn</i> , sold.
तुह <i>ts^hun^u</i> ,	<i>ts^hu²nn</i> , he put in.
तुक <i>tsuk^u</i> ,	<i>ts^u²kk</i> , sour.
वुर <i>wur^u</i> ,	<i>wu²rr</i> , rice boiled dry (masc.)
वुल <i>wul^u</i> ,	<i>wu²ll</i> , a small hole in a wall for ventilation or light (masc.)
दुद <i>dub^u</i> ,	<i>du²bb</i> , a sound (masc.)
थुप <i>thyup^u</i> ,	<i>thyu²pp</i> , a basket for fruit or animals (masc.)
मुस <i>mus^u</i> ,	<i>mu²ss</i> , fatigue, a small turnip (masc.)
फुद <i>phuhur^u</i> ,	<i>phu²hu²rr</i> , burnt rice at the bottom of a pot.

When the vowel *u* is followed by *ū-mātrā* the pronunciation is hardly affected at all. Merely the final consonant is strengthened: Thus,

गुद <i>gur^ū</i> ,	pronounced <i>gurr</i> , a mare.
जुद <i>zur^ū</i> ,	<i>zurr</i> , a daughter's daughter.
बुज <i>buz^ū</i> ,	<i>buzz</i> , we have parched her.
मुर <i>mur^ū</i> ,	<i>murr</i> , the width of sleeve or trousers at wrist or ankle (fem.)

The vowel *ū* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi, but in some people's mouths it almost becomes *ō*. Examples are

- लूठ् *lūth*, plunder (masc.)
 बूथ् *būth*, a demon (masc.)
 कुन् *kūn*, a corner (masc.)
 रूग् *rūg*, or रोग् *rōg*, a disease (pronunciation fluctuating) (masc.)
 रूद् *rūd*, rain (masc.)
 नून् *nūn*, salt (masc.)
 सूठ् *sūth*, the puff of smoke from a pipe (masc.)
 चूर् *tsūr*, a thief (masc.)
 पू *pū*, onomatopœic sound of derision (masc.)
 न्यूक् *nyūkh*, he was carried away by them.

When *ū* commences a word it is pronounced, and usually written *wū*: thus

- ऊठ् *ūth*, or वूठ् *wūth*, both pronounced *wūth*, a camel (masc.)

These words are rare, and the above is the only example I know commencing with an original *ū*.

When *ū* is followed by *i-mātrā*, its pronunciation is not affected, but, the *i-mātrā* is as usual pronounced both before and after the consonant which precedes it. The following are examples.

- पूरि *pūri*, pronounced *pūri*, filled (masc. pl.)
 टूरि *tūri*, *tūri*, small metal saucers (masc. pl.)
 गूरि *gūri*, *gūri*, cowherds (masc. pl.)
 क्रूरि *krūri*, *krūri*, wells (masc. pl.)
 दूरि *drūri*, *drūri*, skins (masc. pl.)
 बूलि *būli*, *būli*, language (fem. sg.)
 लूलि *lūli*, *lūli*, affectionately.
 गूलि *gūli*, *gūli*, kernels (masc. pl.)
 दूलि *ḍūli*, *ḍūli*, deserted, as an orphan (masc. pl.)
 जूलि *jūli*, *jūli*, collected, as alms, in a cloth (fem. sg.)
 तूलि *tūli*, *tūli*, I have weighed them.
 हूनि *ḍūni*, *ḍūni*, walnuts (masc. pl.)
 तूनि *tūni*, *tūni* navels (masc. pl.)

When *ū* is followed by *u-matra* its pronunciation is practically unchanged. Really the lips are moved as described under the head of *u* with *u-mātrā*. This shade of sound I may distinguish by calling it *ū̄*.

Thus **मूर** *mūr* is pronounced *mū¹r*, and **मूर** *mūr^u* is pronounced as *mū²rr*.

The following are examples.

मूर <i>mūr^u</i> ,	pronounced <i>mū²rr</i> ,	we rubbed grain between the hands to remove the husk (masc.)
चूर <i>cūr^u</i> ,	<i>cū²rr</i> ,	we have rinsed out, or squeezed out (masc.)
खूर <i>khūr^u</i> ,	<i>khū²rr</i> ,	a razor (masc.)
सूर <i>sūr^u</i> ,	<i>sū²rr</i> ,	finished (masc.)
हूर <i>hūr^u</i> ,	<i>hū²rr</i> ,	we have discharged a debt (masc.)
पूर <i>pūr^u</i> ,	<i>pū²rr</i> ,	filled (masc.)
चूर <i>çūr^u</i> ,	<i>çū²rr</i> ,	we have arranged him (masc.)
टूर <i>tūr^u</i> ,	<i>tū²rr</i> ,	a small metal saucer (masc.)
ग्रस्त <i>grūst^u</i> ,	<i>grū²st</i> ,	a cultivator (masc.)
गूर <i>gūr^u</i> ,	<i>gū²rr</i> ,	a cowherd (masc.)
मूठ <i>myūth^u</i> ,	<i>myū²tth</i> ,	sweet (masc.)
चूट <i>tsyū¹t^u</i> ,	<i>tsyū²tt</i> ,	a relish with food (masc.)
नूल <i>nyū¹l^u</i> ,	<i>nyū²ll</i> ,	green, not ripe (masc.)
गूल <i>gyū¹l^u</i> ,	<i>gyū²ll</i> ,	we ridiculed him (masc.)
नूर <i>nyūr^u</i> ,	<i>nyū²rr</i> ,	pasturage (masc.), near.
पूर <i>pyūr^u</i> ,	<i>pyū²rr</i> ,	greasy (masc.)
लूख <i>lyūkh^u</i> ,	<i>lyū²kkh</i> ,	we wrote him (masc.)
फूरस्त <i>phrūst^u</i> ,	<i>phrū²st</i> ,	excellent (masc.)
चूठ <i>zyūth^u</i> ,	<i>zyū²tth</i> ,	long, tall (masc.)
बूठ <i>byūth^u</i> ,	<i>byū²tth</i> ,	he sat (masc.)
मूल <i>myū¹l^u</i> ,	<i>myū²ll</i> ,	we met him (masc.)
चून <i>tsyūn^u</i> ,	<i>tsyū²nn</i> ,	we have guessed at (masc.)
तूर <i>tyūr^u</i> ,	<i>tyū²rr</i> ,	sheep (masc.)
क्रूर <i>krūr^u</i> ,	<i>krū²rr</i> ,	a well (masc.)
दूर <i>drūr^u</i> ,	<i>drū²rr</i> ,	skin (masc.)
गूर <i>gyūr^u</i> ,	<i>gyū²rr</i> ,	we have encompassed him (masc.)
वृग <i>vyūg^u</i> ,	<i>vyū²gg</i> ,	a trap door (masc.)
दूठ <i>dyūth^u</i> ,	<i>dyū²tth</i> ,	we have seen him (masc.)
हून <i>hūn^u</i> ,	<i>hū²nn</i> ,	a dog (masc.)
मूद <i>mūd^u</i> ,	<i>mū²dd</i> ,	dead (masc.)
गूद <i>gūd^u</i> ,	<i>gū²dd</i> ,	pudendum (masc.)
बूज <i>būz^u</i> ,	<i>bū²zz</i> ,	we have heard (masc.)

तुन	tūn ^u ,	tū ² nn, navel (masc.)
मुन	mūn ^u ,	mū ² nn, wall of a house (masc.)
पूर	pūr ^u ,	pū ² rr, a step (masc.)
दून	dūn ^u ,	dū ² nn, a cotton cleaner (masc.)
रून	rūn ^u ,	rū ² nn, a husband (masc.)
रूद	rūd ^u ,	rū ² dd, remained (masc.)
लूस	lūs ^u ,	pronounced lū ² ss, tired.
वून	wūn ^u ,	wū ² nn, we have woven.
लून	lūn ^u ,	lū ² nn, we have reaped him.

When ū is followed by ū-mātrā, its pronunciation is hardly affected : thus

लूर	lūr ^ū ,	pronounced lūr ^r , a stick (fem.)
खूर	khūr ^ū ,	khūr ^r , a heel (fem.)
गूर	gūr ^ū ,	gūr ^r , a milk-maid (fem.)
दूर	dūr ^ū ,	dūr ^r , a breeches' string (fem.)
जूर	zūr ^ū ,	zūr ^r , a wooden candlestick (fem.)
कूर	kūr ^ū ,	kūr ^r , a girl (fem.)
दूर	dūr ^ū ,	dūr ^r , an alley (fem.)
मूर	mūr ^ū ,	mūr ^r , a withe (fem.)
मून	mūn ^ū ,	mūnn, wool of sheep (fem.)
जून	zūn ^ū ,	zūnn, moon light (fem.)

There is also a very peculiar ū, something like a *long* German ü, pronounced through the teeth. It is represented in transliteration by \ddot{u} . The following are examples of its use.

तूर	tūr ^ū ,	pronounced tūr, cold.
पूँच	pū ^ū tsūh,	twenty-five.
कूर	kūr ^ū ,	pronounced kūr, cruel (fem.) (masc. कूर ^u kūr ^u .)
गूँद	gūd ^ū ,	gūd ^d , foolish (fem.) (masc. गूँद ^u gūd ^u .)
कूँच	kū ^ū tsū,	kū ^ū ts, how much ? (fem. sg., fem. pl. कूँच ^a kū ^ū ts ^a .)
चून	tsūn,	powdered.
थूँक	thū ^ū k ^ū ,	thū ^ū k, attacked by the horns of any animal (fem.) (masc. थूँक ^u thū ^ū k ^u .)
सूँतिन	sū ^ū tin,	by means of.

When the vowel r commences a word, it is pronounced ryā, and the mark $\dot{\text{r}}$ is placed over it to show modification. Thus रय, a season

pronounced *ryāth*. Similarly a medial *r* is modified and is pronounced *rā*, e.g., कृदन्त्यौ कृहान्याव्, he became black, pronounced *krāhanyauv*. With *ū-mātrā* following, it is pronounced *rū*, as in कृम कर्म, pr. *krūm*, a tortoise (*kūrmaḥ*). The usual pronunciation of *r* is *ru*, as in कृप्यौन कृप्याव्, he cut (with scissors), pr. *krupyaav*.

The vowel *ē*, is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindī: thus

घेरन् <i>gērun</i> , to arrange.	सेर <i>sēr</i> , a seer (masc.)
गेरन् <i>gērun</i> , to laugh at (also गेलुन् <i>gēlun</i>).	नेर <i>nēr</i> , go thou out, come thou out.
चेर <i>tsēr</i> , delay, a yellow apricot (fem.)	फेर <i>phēr</i> , turn thou.
बेर <i>bēr</i> , a low wall or border (fem.)	मेल् <i>mēl</i> , unite thou.
फेल् <i>phēl</i> , a crime, a trick (masc.)	डेर <i>dēr</i> , a heap.
हेर <i>hēr</i> , a ladder (fem.)	गेन् <i>gēn</i> , verses (obsolete).
मेन् <i>mēn</i> , measure thou.	चेन् <i>tsēn</i> , take thou care.
जेन् <i>zēn</i> , earn thou.	जेठ <i>zēth</i> , be thou long.
चेठ <i>tsēth</i> , pound thou.	मेठ <i>mēth</i> , be thou sweet.
सेथ <i>sēth</i> , a fit, epilepsy (fem.)	मेक् <i>gēkh</i> , suspicion (masc.)

When the vowel *ē* commences a word it is pronounced, and may be written, *yē*: thus

एल् <i>ēl</i> or येल <i>yēl</i> ,	pronounced	<i>yēl</i> , subjection (masc.)
एर् <i>ēr</i> or येर् <i>yēr</i> ,		<i>yēr</i> , wool (masc.)
एरन् <i>ērun</i> or येरन् <i>yērun</i> ,		<i>yērun</i> , to sort (the warp.)

When *ē* is followed by *i*-, *u*-, or *ū-mātrā*, it becomes *ī*, *yū*, or *ī* respectively, and is so written. This occurs principally in the formation of the past tense of verbs. Thus, from the root फेर *phēr*, 'turn,' we get the masc. sg. past by adding *u-mātrā*. This gives us फ्यूर् *phyūr* (for * फेर् *phēr-u*). The fem. sg. is formed by adding *ū-mātrā*. Thus फीर् *phīr* (for *phēr-ū*). The masc. pl. is formed by adding *i-mātrā*; and we get फीरि *phīri* (for फेरि *phēr-i*). Finally the fem. pl. is formed by adding *yā*, which does not affect the *ē*, and we get फेयि *phēryā* (*phērē*, see page 304). Again take feminine bases. The base सेर *sēr*-, a brick; its nom. sg. is सीर् *sīr* (for *sēr-ū*), but its nom. pl. सेयि *sēryā* (*sērē*). So खेत् *khēt*-, a field, nom. sg. खीति *khīti* (for *khēt-i*), but nom. pl. खेत्य *khētyā* (*khētē*). Again take the masculine base चेन् *tsēn*-, a wall, before *u-mātrā* we have the nom. sg. चयून् *tsyūn*-. Before *i-mātrā* we have the nom. pl. चीनि *tsīni*, but the acc. sg. is चेनिस् *tsēnis*, because the *ē* is not followed by any *mātrā*-vowel.

The vowel *ai* is pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindī. When at the

end of a word, it is indifferently written *ai* or *ay*. Thus रपै or रपय्. The following are examples.

रुपै *rupai*, a rupee (fem.)
 सुरै *surai*, a goglet (fem.)
 कलै *kōlai*, a wife (fem.)
 मूलै *mūlai*, absolutely, root and branch.
 खनै *khōnai*, elbows even (*niṣcay-arthē*) (fem.)
 सुबहै *subhai*, very early in the morning.
 छुपै *tshōpai*, even silent (H. *cup-hī*.)

फुलै *phulai*, a blossom (fem.)
 बूनै *bōnai*, from below, not I.
 बुनै *bumai*, even eyebrows (fem.)
 रुवै *ruwai*, I shall plant for thee.
 वोनै *wōnai*, I shall weave for thee.
 जुवै *zuvai*, I shall live for thee.
 बवै *bōwai*, I shall be for thee.
 वलै *walai*, I shall fold for thee.
 सुवै *survai*, I shall sew for thee.
 कै *kai*, vomiting.

When *ai* is at the commencement or in the middle of a word it may optionally be pronounced as if it were the modified *ā* (= *ö*). This is easily explained when it is remembered that *ā* is derived from *ā + i*.

The following are examples.

ऐठ *aiṭh*, eight, also आठ *āṭh* (*ōṭh*)
 वैंस् *waṭs*, age, also वाँस् *wāṭs* (*wōṭs*) (fem.)
 मैल् *mail*, desire, also माल् *māl* (*mōl*) (masc.)
 गैल् *gail*, name of place, also गाल् *gāl* (*gōl*) (masc.)
 सैद् *said*, a *saiyad*, also साद् *sād* (*sōd*) (masc.)
 मैन् *main*, a frog (word seldom used) (masc.)
 जैन् *zain*, a wooden bucket, also जान् *zān* (*zōn*) (fem.)
 ऐब् *aiḥ*, a defect, also आब् *āb* (*ōb*) (masc.)
 वैद् *waid*, name of caste, also वाद् *wād* (*wōd*), masc.
 पैंथ् *paṭh*, a road, also पाँथ् *pāṭh* (*pōṭh*) or पान्थ् *pānth* (masc.)
 ऐश् *aiṣ*, enjoyment, also आश् *āṣ* (*ōṣ*) (masc.)
 वैर् *wair*, enmity, also वार् *wār* (*wōr*) (masc.)
 सैल् *sail*, a stroll, also साल् *sāl* (*sōl*) (masc.)
 रैन् *rain*, name of caste, also रान् *rān* (*rōn*) (masc.)
 मैथ् *maith*, a corpse, also माथ् *māth* (*mōth*) (masc.)

The vowel *ō* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples.

खोर् *khōr*, a foot (masc.)
 जोर् *zōr*, force (masc.)
 मोर् *mōr*, a peacock (masc.)
 पोन् *pōn*, a frost-crack in hand or foot, the anus (masc.)
 पोश् *pōṣ*, a flower (masc.)
 बोश् *bōṣ*, dearness (in price.) (masc.)
 रोठ् *rōṭh*, a kind of bread (masc.)
 बोर् *bōr*, burden (masc.)
 सोर् *sōr*, a hog (masc.)

चौर *tsōr*, four.
 तोल *tōl*, weight (masc.)
 लोल *lōl*, desire (masc.)
 बोल *bōl*, fickleness (masc.)
 मोठ *mōṭh*, a kind of grain (masc.)
 चोट *cōṭh*, a bruise (fem.) (rare).
 गोस् *gōs*, I went.
 प्योस् *pyōs*, I fell.
 निद्योव् *niḍyōv*, it was taken by us.
 प्रोव् *prōv*, it was obtained by us.

लेखोव् *lēchyōv*, it was written by us.
 ख्योस् *kyōs*, it was eaten of him by us.
 च्योस् *cyōs*, it was drunk of him by us.
 लिखोव् *livyōv*, it was plastered by us.
 मिद्योव् *miḍyōv*, it has been reconciled by us.

In the following trisyllabic words the sound of *ō* is broadened or drawled till it is nearly equivalent to the *au* in *cause*, owing to the *u* in the next syllable.

मोजुर् *mōzūr^u*, (*mōzūrr*) a cripple.
 चोडुर् *tsōḍur^u*, (*tsōḍurr*) name of a village.
 खोडुर् *khōwūr^u*, (*khōwurr*) left, not right.
 वोडुर् *wōwūr^u*, (*wōwurr*) a weaver.
 मोरुख् *mōrukḥ*, they have killed him.
 चोरुख् *cōrukḥ*, they have tightened him.
 बोरुख् *wōlukḥ*, they have brought down him.

पोडुर् *pōwukḥ*, they have thrown down him.
 बोडुर् *bōwukḥ*, they have disclosed their wishes.
 रोरुख् *rōwukḥ*, they have lost.
 सोडुर् *sōwukḥ*, they have put to sleep.
 चोडुर् *cōwukḥ*, they have given to drink.
 मोरुख् *mōrukḥ*, they have collected.

These are all instances of an original *ā*, changed to *ō* by a following *u*, and the pronunciation is hence the same as that described on page 290.

When non-original *ō* is followed by *i-mātrā* it is pronounced like *ā* (*ō*). It is also so written. The real fact is, however, that this *i-mātrā* only occurs in masc. plurals, in the singular of which the *ō* was followed by *u-mātrā*. Thus क्रोन *krōn^u*, a relation, nom. pl. क्रानि *krānⁱ*. But this *ō* in *krōn^u* itself is not original. The base is क्रान् *krān-*, and owing to the following *u-mātrā*, the *ā* in the nominative becomes, and is written *ō*. See under *ā*, page 289. To say that *ō* followed by *i-mātrā* becomes *ā*, is merely to repeat, less accurately, the statement that *ā* followed by *i-mātrā* becomes *ā*. Further examples are therefore unnecessary. A number can be made from the list given on page 290. For the same reason, every *ō* followed by *u-mātrā* represents an original *ā*, for examples of which see page 290.

As regards *ō* followed by *ū-mātrā*, exactly the same remarks apply. Every instance is really one of *ā*, not *ō*, followed by *ū-mātrā*.

Thus take the base ब्रार् *brār*-, cat. Its masc. nom. is formed by adding *u-mātrā*, and is therefore ब्रोरु *brōr^u*. Its masc. pl. is formed by adding *i-mātrā* and is therefore ब्रारि *brārⁱ*. So also by adding *ū-mātrā*, to form the feminine, we have ब्रारु *brār^ū*, pronounced *brōrr*, and so many others. It is unnecessary to give further examples, as sufficient will be found on page 290.

On the other hand, an original *ō* followed by any *mātrā*-vowel becomes *ū*. Thus—

Followed by *i-mātrā*.

The base पोथ्- *pōth*- (fem.), makes its Nom. Sg. पथि *pūthⁱ* (for *pōth^u*) (pr. *pūthⁱ*), a book. But the Nom. Pl. is पोथ्य *pōthy^a* (*pōthē*). So also Dat. Sg. पोथि *pōthi* (pr. *pōthi*), in which the final *i* is fully-pronounced.

Base बोल् *bōl*-, speech; nom. sg. बूलि *būli* (for *bōlⁱ*) (pr. *būli*)

The √ बोज् *bōz*, hear, makes the Pl. Masc. of its Past tense बूजि *būzi* (for *bōzⁱ*) (pr. *būzi*), but Pl. Fem. बोज् *bōz^a*. The vowel *a* is not a *mātrā*-vowel.

√ रोज् *rōz*, remain, Past tense, Pl. Masc. रुदि *rūdⁱ* (for *rōzⁱ*) (pr. *rūdi*).

Followed by *u-mātrā*

This only occurs in the case of verbs, e.g.

√ बोज् *bōz*, hear, Past tense, Sg. Masc. बूज् *būz^u* (for *bōz^u*) (pr. *būzz*)

√ रोज् *rōz*, remain „ „ रुद् *rūd^u* (for *rōz^u*) (pl. *rūdd*)

√ दोन् *dōn*, card wool, „ „ दून् *dūn^u* (for *dōn^u*) (pr. *dūnn*)

Followed by *ū-mātrā*.

Base कोर् *kōr*—, a girl. Nom. sg. (formed by adding *ū-mātrā*) कूरु *kūr^ū* (for *kōr^ū*); but nom. pl. कोये *kōry^a* (*kōrē*).

Base लोर् *lār*-, a stick. Nom. sg. लूरु *lūr^ū* (for *lōr^ū*)

√ बोज् *bōz*, hear, Past tense, Fem. sg. (formed by adding *ū-mātrā*) बूज् *būz^ū* (for *bōz^ū*) (pr. *būzz*).

√ रोज् *rōz* remain, Past tense, Fem. sg., रूज् *rūz^ū* (for *rōz^ū*), (pr. *rūzz*).

√ दोन् *dōn*, card, Past tense, fem. sg. दून् *dūn^ū* (for *dōn^ū*), (pr. *dūnn*).

It will thus be seen, that *ō* never appears followed by *i-mātrā*, or by *ū-mātrā*; and that when it appears followed by *u-mātrā* it is not original, but represents an original *ā*.

The pronunciation of *au* is the same as in Skr. and Hindi.

गौव् *gaurv*, he went.

खौव् *khyaurv*, we ate.

प्यौव् *pyaurv*, he fell.

म्यौव् *myaurv*, mew of a cat.

च्यौव् *cyaurv*, we drank.

And many other past tenses.

When the syllable *ya* follows a consonant, the *y* is as a rule fully pronounced, as in the following examples. Elmslie, in his dictionary, and Wade represent *ya* by *ĕ* (short), but my paṇḍit assures me that the *y* in the following words is quite fully pronounced. Mr. Hinton Knowles' Musalmān Munshi pronounces all these words with *ĕ*. The difference is probably one of religion: and, as 90 per cent. of Kāçmīrīs are Musalmāns, it would be more generally correct to spell *all* these words with *ĕ*. As, however, this article is written with more special reference to the Hindū grammar of Īçwara Kaula, and the words are written in the Nāgarī character. I write them as follows:—

पय् *pyākḥ*, thou wilt fall.

खय् *khyas*, eat for him.

दय् *dyad*, mother.

वय् *vyāth*, name of the river Jhelum.

मय् *myas*, a water-root.

खय् *khyāth*, having eaten.

चय् *cyas*, drink for him.

रय् *ryākḥ*, a fowl's dung.

चय् *cyāth*, thought.

अय् *chyākḥ*, thou art (fem.)

अय् *dyākḥ*, angry.

अय् *khyākḥ*, thou wilt eat.

अय् *tsyad*, patience.

अय् *tsyal*, squeezing, shampooing.

दय् *dyal*, skin, peel.

अय् *hyal*, dirt used as manure.

अय् *zyal*, cream of tyre.

अय् *lyad*, horse-dung.

अय् *dyak^a*, forehead.

अय् *vyas*, a woman's confidante.

In the following, the *ya* is pronounced *yu*, owing to the influence of the following *u-mātrā*.

अल *lyal^a*, pronounced *lyull*, a vessel for cooking rice.

अन्न *byann^a*, *byunn*, separate.

अल *pyal^a*, *pyull*, a testicle.

अल *dyal^a*, *dyull*, a soft grass used for packing and matting

अल *tsyal^a*, *tsyull*, squeezed.

अल *tyath^a*, *tyuttḥ*, bitter.

अल *hyal^a*, *hyull*, a lake weed.

अल *tshyat^a*, *tshyutt*, leavings.

अल *pyan^a*, *pyunn*, to fall, or the act of falling.

अल *khyan^a*, *khyunn*, to eat, or the act of eating.

जन् *zyan^u*, pronounced *zyunn*, to be born, the act of being born.

चन् *cyan^u*, *cyunn*, to drink, the act of drinking.

So,—

त्यून् *tsyūn^u*, *tsyūnn*, a pillar.

म्यून् *myūn^u*, *myūnn*, measured.

When, however, *ya* is followed by *i* or *y* in the next syllable, it is pronounced as a short *ě*, (as in *ebb*), and as such I write it in transliteration. So also a final *ya* (*y^a*) is pronounced *ě*. In each case a very faint *y* sound is audible before the *ě* when the speaker speaks slowly. Thus, it would be more absolutely accurate to represent जलिस् by *lělis*, than by *lēlis*, but the *y* may be omitted for practical purposes. A final ज्ञा is treated as if it was *ny^a*, and is pronounced *ñě* or *nyě*. The following are examples :—

जलिस् *lělis*, a vessel for cooking rice
(acc. sg.) (masc.)

जलि *lěli*, do. nom. pl. Cf. *lyal^u* in
the preceding list.

बन्नि *běnni*, separate (masc. pl.)

पलिस् *pělis*, a testicle (acc. sg.)
(masc.)

पलि *pěli*, do. nom. pl.

दलि *děli*, pl. of *dyal^u* (*dyoll*) in the
last list.

जलि *tsěli*, squeezed (masc. pl.)

दडि *těthi*, bitter (masc. pl.)

हलि *hěli*, lake-weeds (masc. pl.)

छटि *tsěhēti*, leavings.

पच *pacě*, tablets (fem. pl.)

पोथ *pōthě*, books (fem. pl.)

कर्ये *karě*, they (fem.) were made
by us.

लह्य *tōhě*, you (obl. pl.)

So also ब्या *byañ^a*, pr. *běñyě*, a sister.

When the *ya* in this case commences a word, it is pronounced *yě*. Thus यमिस *yěmis*, whom.

As regards *wa*. I have already pointed out, under the head of *u* page 294, that it is almost pronounced as *ō* (short). This is however, complicated when *u-mātrā* follows, in which case *wa* is pronounced like *a* before *u-mātrā*, the sound of which I transliterate by *o*. It is almost identical with the vowel in the Irish pronunciation of "gun." If, however, the *wa* is followed by *i-mātrā*, the *wa* is pronounced *ō* as usual.

गवन् *gōn^u*, pronounced *gonn*, a stack (masc.)

गवनि *gōni*, *gōni*, stacks.

दब *dōb^u*, *dobb*, a washerman (masc.)

दबि *dōbi*, *dōbi*, washermen.

वथ *wōth^u*, *wotth*, arisen (masc. sg.)

वथि *wōthi*, *wōthi*, arisen (masc. pl.)

क॒ख	<i>hōkh^u</i> ,	<i>hokkh</i> , dry (masc.)
क॒ब	<i>kōb^u</i> ,	<i>kobb</i> , a hunchback (masc.)
क॒प	<i>tshōp^u</i> ,	<i>tshopp</i> , silent.
क॒त	<i>hōt^u</i> ,	<i>hott</i> , spoiled (masc.)
ल॒त	<i>lōt^u</i> ,	<i>lott</i> , light, not heavy (masc.)
क॒द	<i>hōd^u</i> ,	<i>hodd</i> , plain boiled rice (masc.)
त॒ह	<i>tōhⁱ</i> ,	<i>tōhⁱ</i> , ye (nom. pl.)
फ॒त	<i>phōt^u</i> ,	<i>phott</i> , a basket (masc.)

The fem. of क॒प *tshōp^u* is क॒प *tshōp^u*, and is pronounced *tshüpp*, and so for the others.

A List of Kāçmīrī Verbs.—By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C. I. E., I. C. S.

[Read December, 1896.]

The following list of Kāçmīrī Verbs, is founded on the *dhātu-pāṭha* of Īçvara-kaula's Kāçmīrī Grammar, entitled the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. The verbs are quoted under their root forms. In the *dhātu-pāṭha* they are all given as ending in *a* or rather in *ā*, and I have followed this in the Dēva-nāgarī list. In the transcription in the Roman character, I have followed the usual custom of European scholars in dealing with modern Indo-Aryan roots, and have omitted the final vowel.

There are two conjugations of Kāçmīrī verbs, which differ only in the tenses formed from the Past Participle. The First Conjugation consists of Active and Impersonal Verbs, and its terminations (in these tenses) are formed by the addition of pronominal suffixes of the Instrumental Case. Examples are; (Transitive Verb); *karu-n* he made (him), literally, he was-made-by-him; (Impersonal Verb); *asu-n*, he laughed, lit. it-was-laughed-by-him. Impersonal Verbs only appear in the third person masc. singular.

Active Verbs occur in all genders, numbers and persons. Thus *karṇ-n*, he made (her) (lit. she was-made-by-him); *kari-n*, he made (them) (lit. they [masc.] were-made-by-him); *karṇ-n* he made them (fem.), (lit. they [fem.] were-made-by-him).

The Second Conjugation consists of Neuter Verbs, and its terminations (in these tenses) are formed by the addition of pronominal suffixes of the Nominative Case (which, however, are omitted in the third person singular and plural, and in the first person plural). Thus *paṇu-s*, I went, lit. gone-I. The verb agrees with the subject in gender and number. Thus *paṇu-s*, I (fem.) went. In the accompanying list, Active Verbs are marked (in the first column) with the letter क, i.e., *karmaṇi prayōga*, or passive construction. Impersonal Verbs are marked अ, i.e., *bhāvē prayōga*, or impersonal construction. Neuter Verbs are left unmarked. This information is taken from the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

Three simple tenses are derived from the Past Participle; the Past, the Aorist, and the Pluperfect. In the masculine, the characteristic

letter of the Past is *u*, of the Aorist is *yau* or *yō*, and of the Pluperfect *yā*.

The **Past** tense describes something which has happened lately, e.g., *kāru-n*, he has (just) made. It is formed directly from the Past Participle.

Only a small number of verbs of the second conjugation possess this tense. As a rule, Neuter Verbs employ the Aorist to express the idea conveyed, in the case of verbs of the first conjugation, by the Past Tense.

The following verbs (according to the *Kaçmīra-çabdānṛta*) are the only ones of the second conjugation which have the Past proper.

Thak, *pak*, *samakh*, *hōkh*, *tag*, *lag*, *çōṅg*, *k^a ts*, *khōts*, *pats*, *rōts*, *vyats*, *hōts*, *gats^h* (be proper), *wōpaz*, *daz*, *rōz*, *phaṭ*, *phuṭ*, *rōt*, *bōḍ*, *wāt*, *wōth*, *ts^hyann*, *sapan*, *wup*, *çrap*, *pray*, *lay*, *way*, *khar*, *tar*, *phar*, *phēr*, *mar*, *sōr*, *gal*, *tsal*, *ḍal*, *dōl*, *phal*, *phōll*, *mēl*, *bōv*, *rāv*, *dōṣ*, *pōṣ*, *maṣ*, *rōṣ*, *ās*, *khas*, *phas*, *bas*, *las*, *lōs*, *was*, *byah*.

These verbs, which I shall in future "Listed Verbs" form a class by themselves, and, in the treatment of the final consonant follow the example of verbs of the first conjugation.

Before *ū-mātrā* (i.e., in the fem. sg., Past), and before *y* (i.e., in the fem. plur., Past, and in the Aorist and Pluperfect), in the case of verbs of the first conjugation, and of the abovementioned listed Neuter Verbs, certain final consonants of the past participle become palatalized: as follows:—

k, *kh* and *g*, become *c*, *ch* and *j*, respectively.

Thus—

3 Masc. sg. Past.

3 Fem. sg. Past. 3 Masc. Aorist.

thak^u, he was weary

thac^u

thacyōv

lyūkhun (✓ *lēkh*), he wrote

lich^un

lēchyōn

ḍagun, he pounded

ḍaj^un

ḍajyōn

t, *th* and *ḍ*, become *c*, *ch*, and *j* respectively, but not before *ū-mātrā*, only before *y*.

Thus—

phaṭ^u, he was split

phaṭ^u

phacyōv

math^u [✓ *maṣ*] he was forgotten

math^u

machyōv

gaṇḍun, he bound

gaṇḍ^un

gañjyōn

t, *th*, *ḍ* and *n* become *ts*, *ts^h*, *z*, and *ñ* respectively, in both cases,

Thus—

kāṭun, he spun

kāts^un

kātsōn

wōth^u, he arose

wōts^h

wōts^hōv

lāḍun, he built

lāz^un

lāzōn

raṇun, he cooked

rañ^un

rañōn

Verbs in *l* change it to *j*.

Thus—

<i>pōlun</i> (✓ <i>pāl</i>), he protected	<i>pājⁿ</i>	<i>pājyōn</i>
<i>tsəlⁿ</i> , he fled	<i>tsajⁿ</i>	<i>tsajyōv</i>

These changes do *not* occur in the case of verbs of the second conjugation which are not mentioned in the above list. Thus, from the ✓ *zēṭh*, be long, we have the Aorist *zēṭhyauv*, not *zēchyauv*.

Note that *y* is elided after *ts*, *ts^h*, *z* and *ñ*, and *s*. It is also elided in the case of the verbs *pi*, 'fall' (*pyauv* not *pi-yauv*), and *gat^{sh}*, 'go' (*gauv* not *gyauv*).

It is, however, retained in the case of the following Neuter Verbs.

K^ats, be wet, *grōts*, be splashed out, *tsōts*, be without employment, *tshōts*, be empty, *tēz*, be sharp, *paz*, be fit, *rōts*, be pleasant, *vyats*, be contained, *braz*, shine, *bāwaz*, be pleasant, *lyats*, be weak, *grōts*, be pure.

Thus, *grōtsyōv*, not *grōtsōv*, he was splashed out.

[It is also retained in the following verbs ending in *s*, *āvas*, *qōs*, *tsas*, *tras*, *ras*, *r^as*, *lis*, *vis*, *wōlas*, *wōs* and optionally in *thās*, *das*, *bās*, *mus*, and *s^as*].

The vowel changes in these verbs are caused by the presence of *mātrā* vowels in the final syllable of the masc. and fem. sg. and masc. plural of the past. There are no vowel changes in the fem. plural, as it never ends in a *mātrā*-vowel, or in the Aorist or Pluperfect. These changes have been explained in my previous paper on Kāçmīrī pronunciation.¹ They are given briefly in the following table, which applies to all verbs of both conjugations.

¹ Vide *supra*, pp. 280 and ff.

Radical.	As in	BECOMES							
		before u-matrā (masc. sg. past.)	As in	before ū-matrā (fem. sg. past.)	As in	before i-matrā, (masc. pl. past.)	As in	before <i>ya</i> (ē), (fem. pl. past, & throughout aorist.)	As in
<i>a</i> ...	<i>karun</i> , to do,	<i>a</i>	<i>karun</i> , (pr <i>korun</i>) he made him,	<i>a</i>	<i>karān</i> , (pr. <i>kārān</i>) he made her,	<i>a</i>	<i>karin</i> , (pr. <i>karin</i>) he made them,		<i>karēn</i> , <i>karyōn</i> .
<i>ā</i> ...	<i>mārun</i> , to kill,	<i>ō</i>	<i>mōrun</i> ,	<i>ō</i>	<i>mārān</i> , (pr. <i>mōrān</i>)	<i>ā</i>	<i>mārin</i> , (pr. <i>mōrin</i>)		<i>mārēn</i> , <i>māryōn</i> .
<i>i</i> ...	<i>livun</i> , to plaster,	<i>yu</i>	<i>lyuvun</i> ,	<i>i</i> (pr. <i>yū</i>)	<i>liān</i> , (pr. <i>lyūvun</i>)	<i>i</i>	<i>livin</i> ,		<i>liyēn</i> , <i>liyōn</i> .
<i>ī</i> ...	<i>cīrun</i> , to squeeze out,	<i>yū</i>	<i>cyūrun</i> ,	<i>ī</i>	<i>cīrān</i> ,	<i>ī</i>	<i>cīrin</i> ,		<i>cīrēn</i> , <i>cīryōn</i> .
<i>u</i> ...	<i>buzun</i> , to parch,	un- changed	<i>buzun</i> ,	un- changed	<i>buzān</i> ,	un- changed	<i>buzin</i> , (pr. <i>būzin</i>)		<i>buzan</i> , <i>buzōn</i> .
<i>ū</i> ...	<i>lūtun</i> , to rob,	un- changed	<i>lātun</i> ,	un- changed	<i>lūtān</i> ,	un- changed	<i>lūtin</i> , (pr. <i>lūtīn</i>)		<i>lūcēn</i> , <i>lūcyōn</i> .
<i>ē</i> ...	<i>phērun</i> , to be turned,	<i>yū</i>	<i>phyū^u</i> ,	<i>ī</i>	<i>phīrā</i> ,	<i>ī</i>	<i>phīri</i> ,		<i>phērē</i> , <i>phēryō</i> .
<i>ō</i> ...	<i>bōzun</i> , to hear,	<i>ū</i>	<i>būzun</i> ,	<i>ū</i>	<i>būzān</i> ,	<i>ū</i>	<i>būzin</i> , (pr. <i>būzīn</i>)		<i>bōzēn</i> , <i>bōzōn</i> .

Remains unchanged.

Remains unchanged.

The **Aorist**, expresses past time indefinitely, with no reference to proximity or distance, e.g., *karyō-n*, he made. In the second conjugation in most cases it is, however, used instead of the Past Tense, and then the Pluperfect is used for the Aorist. It is formed in the masculine singular by adding *yau* or *yō* to the root of the verb, and then affixing the pronominal suffixes. The termination is generally written यौ *yau*, but is always pronounced यौ *yō*. A Kāçmīrī Paṇḍit makes no distinction in pronunciation between *au* and *ō*.

In those verbs which have a Past Tense, the base of the Fem. Plur. Past, is the same as that of the Aorist. Thus *pak^u*, he went, Fem. pl. *pacya* or *pacē*, Aorist *pacyōv*.

The **Pluperfect** expresses remote time, and is formed in the masculine by changing the *yō* of the Aorist to *yā*. Thus, *karyān*, he did (a long time ago), he had done. It is the tense of narrative. Thus *sakharīyāv*, (in telling a story), he went. Those Neuter Verbs of the second conjugation, which use the Aorist for the Past Tense, also use the Pluperfect in the Indefinite sense of the Aorist. If they end in a consonant, they form a new Pluperfect by inserting *i* before the *yā*. Thus *zēthiyāv*, he had been long, but *zēthyāv*, he was long (not *zēchyāv*, as the ✓ *zēth* is not one of the listed verbs).

The above rules are those given in the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. As the Past Tenses form one of the chief difficulties of the Kāçmīrī Verb, and, moreover, present irregularities which are not referred to in the above abstract (especially those which occur in the formation of the Past Participle), I have given in the fourth column of the accompanying list, the third person singular masculine, of the Past and of the Aorist of every verb mentioned. These have been carefully tested in each instance by my Paṇḍit, and by myself, independently, with the *Çabdāmṛta*, and may be, I believe, taken as correct according to the teaching of its author. Here and there my Paṇḍit has given me a form not sanctioned by the *Çabdāmṛta*. In any such case I have inserted it in square brackets.

Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary contains about four-hundred verbs, while this list contains about double that number. It may, therefore, be considered a somewhat important contribution to Kāçmīrī lexicography.

I have compared Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary with this throughout. I have found in it (after excluding a number of perfectly regular causals) about a dozen verbs which were not in the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. Most of these my Paṇḍit condemns as Panjābī and as not Kāçmīrī, but two or three have passed his test, and have been inserted between square brackets. An asterisk is inserted in the fifth column in the case of each verb occurring in the *Vocabulary*.

The fifth column in the list contains the meaning of the roots in English. These meanings are not translations of the Sanskrit meanings given in the third column, but are based upon them. Each meaning inserted has the express sanction of my Paṇḍit who is a Kāçmīrī born and bred.

To conclude, the following are the full conjugational forms of the three Past Tenses of the Kāçmīrī Verb, according to the *Kāçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

First Conjugation. Transitive and Impersonal Verbs.

(भूतकाल) Past Tense, I made.

	He was made	She was made	They (masc.) were made	They (fem.) were made
by me	करम् <i>karum</i>	करम् <i>kar̄m</i>	करिम् <i>karin</i>	कर्यम् <i>karēm</i> ¹
by thee	करथ् <i>karuth</i>	करथ् <i>kar̄th</i>	करिथ् <i>karith</i>	कर्यथ् <i>karēth</i>
by him	करन् <i>karun</i>	करन् <i>kar̄n</i>	करिन् <i>karin</i>	कर्यन् <i>karēn</i>
by us	कर् <i>kar̄</i>	कर् <i>kar̄</i>	करि <i>kar̄</i>	कर्य <i>karē</i>
by you	करव् <i>kar̄va</i>	करव् <i>kar̄va</i>	करिव् <i>kar̄va</i>	कर्यव् <i>karēva</i>
by them	करख् <i>karukh</i>	करख् <i>kar̄kh</i>	करिख् <i>karikh</i>	कर्यख् <i>karēkh</i>

(सामान्यभूतकाल) Aorist, I made.

	He was made	She was made	They (masc.) were made	They (fem.) were made
by me	{ कर्येम् <i>karyēm</i> ² कर्यौम् <i>karyaum</i>	कर्यथम् <i>karyēyam</i>	कर्यम् <i>karyēm</i>	कर्यथम् <i>karyē-</i> <i>yam</i>
by thee	{ कर्येथ् <i>karyēth</i> कर्यौथ् <i>karyauth</i>	कर्येथ् <i>karyēyath</i>	कर्येथ् <i>karyēth</i>	and so on, same as sin- gular.
by him	{ कर्येन् <i>karyēn</i> कर्यौन् <i>karyau</i>	कर्येयन् <i>karyēyan</i>	कर्येन् <i>karyēn</i>	
by us	{ कर्येव् <i>karyēv</i> कर्यौव् <i>karyauv</i>	कर्येय् <i>karyēya</i>	कर्येय् <i>karyēy</i>	
by you	{ कर्येव् <i>karyēv</i> ² कर्यौव् <i>karyauv</i> ²	कर्येयव् <i>karyēyav</i> ²	कर्येव् <i>karyēv</i> ²	
by them	{ कर्येख् <i>karyēkh</i> कर्यौख् <i>karyaukh</i>	कर्येयख् <i>karyēyakh</i>	कर्येख् <i>karyēkh</i>	

¹ Pronounced *karyem*.

² Pronounced कर्यौम् and so throughout.

(पूर्णभूतकाल) *Pluperfect*, I had made.

	He had been made	She had been made	They (masc.) had been made	They (fem.) had been made
by me	कर्याम् <i>karyām</i>	same as in Aorist	करेयेम् <i>karēyēm</i>	same as in Aorist
by thee	कर्याथ् <i>karyāth</i>		करेयेथ् <i>karēyēth</i>	
by him	कर्यान् <i>karyān</i>		करेयेन् <i>karēyēn</i>	
by us	कर्याव् <i>karyāv</i>		करेयेय् <i>karēyēy</i>	
by you	कर्याव् <i>karyāv^a</i>		करेयेव <i>karēyēv^a</i>	
by them	कर्याख् <i>karyākh</i>		करेयेख् <i>karēyēkh</i>	

Second Conjugation. Neuter Verbs.

Neuter Verbs. Except in verbs specially listed above, the Past does not occur. One of these listed verbs is पक्, *pak*, 'go.'

(भूतकाल) *Past*, I went.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
I went	पकुस् <i>pakus</i>	पचूस् <i>pac^us</i>
They wentest	पकुख् <i>pakukh</i>	पचूख् <i>pac^ukh</i>
He went	पकु <i>pak^u</i>	पचू <i>pac^u</i>
We went	पकि <i>pakⁱ</i>	पच्य <i>pacē¹</i>
You went	पकिव <i>pakⁱv^a</i>	पच्यव <i>pacēv^a</i>
They went	पकि <i>pakⁱ</i>	पच्य <i>pacē</i>

¹ Pronounced *pacyē*.

Aorist (सामान्यभूतकाल) in the case of listed verbs. *Past* (भूतकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs.

वुफ *wuph*, fly, is a non-listed verb.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
I flew	वुफोस् <i>wuphyōs</i>	वुफेयस् <i>wuphyēyas</i>
Thou flewest	वुफोख् <i>wuphyōkh</i>	वुफेयख् <i>wuphyēyakh</i>
He flew	वुफोव् or वुफोव् <i>wuphyōv</i> or <i>wuphyāv</i>	वुफेय <i>wuphyēy^a</i>
We flew	वुफेय् <i>wuphyēy</i>	वुफेय <i>wuphyēy^a</i>
You flew	वुफेव <i>wuphyēw^a</i>	वुफेव <i>wuphyēw^a</i>
They flew	वुफेय् <i>wuphyēy</i>	वुफेय <i>wuphyēy^a</i>

Pluperfect (पूर्णभूतकाल) in the case of listed verbs, and in the case of non-listed verbs ending in vowels. *Aorist* (सामान्यभूतकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs ending in consonants.

I flew.

		Masculine.	Feminine.
Singular ...	1	वुफास् <i>wuphyās</i>	वुफेयस् <i>wuphyēyas</i> , &c., as in the Past.
	2	वुफाख् <i>wuphyākh</i>	
	3	वुफाव् <i>wuphyāv</i>	
Plural ...	1	वुफाय् <i>wuphyāy</i>	
	2	वुफाव <i>wuphyāv^a</i>	
	3	वुफाय् <i>wuphyāy</i>	

Pluperfect (पूर्णभूतकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs only, which end in consonants.

I had flown.

		Masculine.	Feminine.
Singular ...	1	वुफियास् <i>wuphiyās</i>	वुफियेयस् <i>wuphiyēyas</i>
	2	वुफियाख् <i>wuphiyākh</i>	वुफियेयख् <i>wuphiyēyakh</i>
	3	वुफियाव् <i>wuphiyāv</i>	वुफियेय <i>wuphiyēy^a</i>
Plural ...	1	वुफियाय् <i>wuphiyāy</i>	वुफियेय <i>wuphiyēy^a</i>
	2	वुफियाव <i>wuphiyāv^a</i>	वुफियेव <i>wuphiyēw^a</i>
	3	वुफियाय् <i>wuphiyāy</i>	वुफियेय <i>wuphiyēy^a</i>

LIST OF VERBS.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	अच् <i>ats</i>	प्रवेशे	चाव् <i>tsāv</i>	*enter.
	अच् <i>ats</i>	दौर्बल्ये	अबौव् <i>atsəuv</i>	be weak.
	अड <i>ad</i>	नैबल्ये अभिशोणे च	अबौव् <i>adyauv</i>	be powerless, per- severe.
	अदूर <i>adur</i>	आर्द्राभवन	अदूर्यौव् <i>aduryauv</i>	be moist.
क	अदुराव <i>adurāv</i>	आर्द्राकरणे	अदुरोवुन् <i>adurōvun</i> , अदुराब्यौन् <i>adurāvyauṇ</i>	*make moist.
क	अन <i>an</i> , आन <i>ān</i> इति केचित्	आनयने	अनुन् <i>anun</i> , अजीन् <i>ājāun</i>	*bring.
क	अजूर <i>anzur</i>	समापने	अजूरन् <i>anzurun</i> , अजूर्यौन् <i>anzuryauṇ</i>	finish.
क	अजुराव <i>anzurāv</i>	च	अजुरोवुन् <i>anzurōvun</i> , अजुराब्यौन् <i>anzurāvyauṇ</i>	ditto.
	अन्द <i>and</i>	अवसाने	अन्द्यौव् <i>andyauv</i>	be finished.
क	अवस, अवसाव च, <i>abas</i> , <i>abasāv</i>	वेष्टने	अवसुन् <i>abasun</i> , अवस्यौन् <i>abasyauṇ</i>	wrap up, enfold.
क	अब्र <i>abar</i>	नेषाविर्भावे	अबरन् <i>abərun</i> , अब्र्यौन् <i>aboryauṇ</i>	cloud up.
क	अबुराव <i>abarāv</i>	च	अबुरोवुन् <i>abarōvun</i> , अबुराब्यौन् <i>abarāvyauṇ</i>	ditto.

क	खजुँ <i>arz</i>	खजने	खजुँ <i>arzun</i> , खजुँ <i>arzun</i>	earn.
क	खपौव <i>arpāv</i>	पातने	खपौवुन् <i>arpōvun</i> , खपौवौन् <i>arpāvyaun</i>	fell.
क	खल <i>al</i>	अध्रुवीभावे	खल्यौव <i>alyauv</i>	be insecure, shake.
क	खलर <i>alar</i>	चेष्टादाने कम्पने च	खलरन् <i>alarun</i> , खलर्यौन् <i>alaryaun</i>	move, tremble.
क	खलराव <i>alarāv</i>	च	खलरोवुन् <i>alarun</i> , खलरावौन् <i>alarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	खस <i>as</i>	हसने	खसुन् <i>asun</i> , खसौन् <i>asauv</i>	*laugh.
क	खहल <i>ahal</i>	मानने	खहलुन् <i>ahālvn</i> , खहल्यौन् <i>ahalyaun</i>	honour.
क	खाबुन <i>ākshan</i>	परिचयने	खाबुनुन् <i>ākshanun</i> , खाबुजौन् <i>ākshajāun</i>	practice.
क	खाजूर <i>ājor</i>	तत्परतायाम्	खाजुरन् <i>ājorun</i> , खाजुर्यौन् <i>ājoryaun</i>	be devoted to.
क	खाडर <i>āḍor</i>	मित्रणे पिण्डौकरणे च	खाडरन् <i>āḍorun</i> , खाडर्यौन् <i>āḍoryaun</i>	*mix, heap up.
क	खाडराव <i>āḍorāv</i>	च	खाडरोवुन् <i>āḍorōvun</i> , खाडरावौन् <i>āḍorāvyaun</i>	*ditto.
क	खाँटर <i>āṭor</i>	कोपादिचारणे	खाँटरुन् <i>āṭorun</i> , खाँटर्यौन् <i>āṭoryaun</i>	meditate in wrath against a person.
क	आपर <i>āpar</i>	हस्तेन परमुखापणे	आपरन् <i>āparun</i> , आपर्यौन् <i>āparyaun</i>	feed another with one's own hand.
क	आपराव <i>āparāv</i>	च	आपरोवुन् <i>āparōvun</i> , आपरावौन् <i>āparāvyaun</i>	ditto.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
आमन् āman	वैवर्णे	आमन्यौव् āmanyauv	change for the bad.
आरट् ārad	आराधने	आरटुन् āraḍun, आरजौन् ārajan	conciliate.
आरव् ārav	परवैकरणे	आरवुन् āravun, आरवौन् āravauv	make rough.
आयव् āyav	सम्यञ्जकरणे	आयवुन् āyavun, आयवौन् āyavauv	aim straight at.
आलव् ālav	कर्ध्वामणे नौपरिवर्तने च	आलवुन् ālavun, आलवौन् ālavauv	* whirl aloft, bring a boat near the shore.
आवर āvar	आपने आवरणे च	आवरन् āvarun, आवरौन् āvarauv	cover.
आवराव āvarāv	च	आवरावुन् āvarāvun, आवरावौन् āvarāvauv	ditto
आस ās	सनायाम्	आसु ōs* [आस्यौव् āsyauv not used]	* be.
आवस āvas	विशरणे	आवस्यौव् āvasyauv	crumble to pieces.
इक् yitsh	इच्छायाम्	इक्नुन् yitshun, इक्षौन् yitshauv	* wish.
ईर yir	कर्ध्वमणे	ईर्यौव् yiryauv	be whirled aloft.
कड kad	निष्कासने	कडुन् kaḍun, कज्यौन् kaḍyauv	* bring out, drag out.
कत kat	यन्त्रवेष्टने	कटुन् kaṭun, कचौन् kaṭauv	* spin.

क	कतर <i>katār</i>	छन्तने	कतरेन् <i>katārūn</i> , कतरीन् <i>katārīyaun</i>	cut in slices.
क	कङ्ग <i>kaṅz</i>	पत्तिभर्जने	कङ्गुन् <i>kaṅzun</i> , कङ्गीन् <i>kaṅgīyaun</i>	singe (as a plucked fowl).
भा	कङ्गुर <i>kaṅzūr</i>	निद्रैयौभवने	कङ्गुरेन् <i>kaṅzūrūn</i> , कङ्गुरीन् <i>kaṅzūrīyaun</i>	be impoverished.
भा	कङ्गुराव <i>kaṅzūrāv</i>	च	कङ्गुरोवुन् <i>kaṅzūrōvūn</i> , कङ्गुरावोन् <i>kaṅzūrāvōn</i>	ditto.
क	कपट <i>kaṭaṭ</i>	छन्तने	कपटुन् <i>kaṭaṭūn</i>	cut (clothes, etc.).
क	कपटाव <i>kaṭaṭāv</i>	च	कपटोवुन् <i>kaṭaṭōvūn</i>	ditto.
क	कमव <i>kaṃav</i>	बर्जने	कमवुन् <i>kaṃavūn</i> , कमवोन् <i>kaṃavīyaun</i>	earn.
क	कमनाव <i>kaṃanāv</i>	च	कमनोवुन् <i>kaṃanōvūn</i> , कमनावोन् <i>kaṃanāvōn</i>	*ditto.
क	कर <i>kar</i>	करणे	करुन् <i>karūn</i> , करीन् <i>kārīyaun</i>	*do, make.
	कल <i>kal</i>	सूकौभावे	कखौव् <i>kakhyāv</i>	be dumb.
भा	कश <i>kaṣ</i>	कण्डयने	कशुन् <i>kaṣūn</i> , कश्योन् <i>kaṣīyaun</i>	*itch.
क	कस <i>kas</i>	तैलादिपचने	कसुन् <i>kaṣūn</i> , कसीन् <i>kaṣīyaun</i>	fry.
	कहर <i>kaḥar</i>	पाख्ये	कहरीव् <i>kaḥarīyaun</i>	be rough.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	काचर <i>kātsar</i>	काचयीव् <i>kātsaryauv</i>	be tawny.
क	काव् <i>kāch</i>	कावुन् <i>kāchun</i> , काचौन् <i>kāchyaun</i>	wish.
क	काट् <i>kāṭ</i>	काटुन् <i>kāṭun</i> , काचौन् <i>kāṭyaun</i>	to pilfer secretly.
	काठ् <i>kāṭh</i>	काथौव् <i>kāṭhyauv</i>	be hard.
	कान् <i>kān</i>	कान्यौव् <i>kānyauv</i>	be one-eyed, be conquered.
	काम्य <i>kāmp</i>	काम्यौव् <i>kāmpyauv</i>	tremble.
क	काय् <i>kāy</i>	कायुन् <i>kāyun</i> , कायौन् <i>kāyyaun</i>	be lazy <i>lit.</i> make (one-self) lazy.
	कायर <i>kāyar</i>	काययीव् <i>kāyaryauv</i>	be powerless.
क	कार् <i>kār</i>	कावुन् <i>kāran</i> , काचौन् <i>kāryaun</i>	boil.
	कावर् <i>kāṭṭar</i>	कावयीव् <i>kāṭṭaryauv</i>	be black.
क	कास <i>kās</i>	कासुन् <i>kōsun</i> , कासौन् <i>kāsyauun</i>	* shave, put a stop to (<i>e.g.</i> , a quarrel).
	क्यन्न <i>kjann</i>	क्यन्नौव् <i>kēnnyauv</i>	be moist.

कुठ <i>kuth</i>	दृत्तिसंकोचे	कुथौव् <i>kuthayaw</i>	* be in distress.
कुप <i>kup</i>	कोपे	कुथौव् <i>kupyaw</i>	be angry.
[काव <i>kōb</i>	कुजोभवने	कान्यौव् <i>kōbyaw</i>	be hunch backed.]
कुमल <i>kumal</i>	कोमलीभवने	कुमल्यौव् <i>kumalyaw</i>	* be tender.
कुह <i>kuh</i>	निष्कर्ष	कुछन् <i>kuhun</i> , कुद्यौन् <i>kuhyan</i>	pull out.
कूर <i>kūr</i>	निष्कर्षमूलशिशिली- करणयोः	कूरन् <i>kūran</i> , कूर्यौन् <i>kūryaun</i>	pull out, loosen from the foundation.
कर <i>kūr</i>	क्रूरत्वे	कूर्यौव् <i>kūryaw</i>	be fierce.
कट <i>kr̥t</i> , कट <i>krat</i>	कार्षे	कद्यौव् <i>kr̥tyaw</i> , कद्यौव् <i>kradyaw</i>	be thin.
कप <i>kyp</i>	कर्तने	कपुन् <i>kypun</i> , कप्यौन् <i>kypyaun</i>	* cut (with scissors).
कचन <i>kr̥han</i>	कच्योभवने	कचन्यौव् <i>kr̥hanyaw</i>	become black.
कोकव <i>kōkav</i>	गुणप्रशंसायाय	कोकवुन् <i>kōkavun</i> , कोक्यौन् <i>kōkavyaun</i>	recommend (a person).
कोल <i>kōl</i>	लौचित्ये	कोल्यौव् <i>kōlyaw</i>	be red.
क्च <i>kac̥s</i>	चाद्रिभवने	क्चु <i>kac̥p</i> , कच्यौव् <i>kac̥syaw</i>	be wet.
क्चव <i>kac̥sav</i>	चाद्रिकरणे	क्चवुन् <i>kac̥savun</i> , कच्यौन् <i>kac̥savyaun</i>	make wet.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	कृन् <i>kr̥n</i>	कनुन् <i>kanun</i> , कञौन् <i>kañauṇ</i>	* sell.
क	क्राव <i>krāv</i>	क्रावुन् <i>krāvun</i> , क्रावौन् <i>krāvyaun</i>	do, make.
	क्रेठ <i>krēṭh</i>	क्रैथौव् <i>krēṭhayauv</i>	be hard.
क	क्रेष <i>krēṣ</i>	क्राप्सुन् <i>kryāṣun</i> , क्रैषौन् <i>krēṣyaun</i>	long for.
क	खट <i>khaṭ</i>	खटुन् <i>khaṭun</i> , खचौन् <i>khacyaun</i>	* conceal.
क	खड् <i>khaṇḍ</i>	खड्खन् <i>khaṇḍ^{or}un</i> , खड्खौन् <i>khaṇḍ^{or}yaun</i>	divide into shares.
क	खड्खाव <i>khaṇḍ^{or} rāv</i>	खड्खरोवुन् <i>khaṇḍ^{or}rōvun</i> , खड्खावौन् <i>khaṇḍ^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	खन <i>khan</i>	खनुन् <i>khanun</i> , खञौन् <i>khañauṇ</i>	* dig.
भा	खप <i>khaṭ</i>	खपुन् <i>khaṭun</i> , खयौन् <i>khapyauṇ</i>	act badly.
भा	खम <i>kham</i>	खसुन् <i>khamun</i> , खस्यौन् <i>khamyaun</i>	* breathe hard.
	खर <i>khar</i>	खर् <i>khar^w</i> , खर्यौव् <i>kharyauv</i>	dislike.
	खल <i>khal</i>	खल्यौव् <i>khalayauv</i>	be loose.
	[खर्च <i>khar^c</i>	खर्चुन् <i>khar^cun</i> , खर्चौन् <i>khar^cyaun</i>	spend, only used in past tenses].

खस <i>khas</i>	आरोहं	खुक् <i>khak</i> , [खत् <i>khāt</i>], खद्यौक् <i>khats hauv</i> [खद्यौक् <i>khatsauv</i>]	* mount, ascend.
खह <i>khah</i>	विनीकरणे	खडन् <i>khahun</i> , खद्यौन् <i>khahyaun</i>	ornament (with a pattern).
खार <i>khār</i>	आरोहणे	खोरन् <i>khōrun</i> , खार्यौन् <i>khāryaun</i>	* cause to mount, raise.
खि <i>khī</i>	खादने	खौन् <i>khayōn</i> खियौन् <i>khīyaun</i>	* eat.
खिस्त <i>khisk</i>	दभगतौ	खुखुन् <i>khayuskun</i> , खिर्यौन् <i>khīryaun</i>	walk arrogantly.
खखर <i>khōkhar</i>	निसारतायास्	खखर्यौक् <i>khōkharayauv</i>	be hollow (of a tree).
खखलाव <i>khōkhalāv</i>	वस्तुनो जलावागचने	खखलावुन् <i>khōkhalāvun</i> , खखलाव्यौन् <i>khōkhalāvyaun</i>	wash anything in water.
खुत <i>khut</i>	अधः खनने	खुतुन् <i>khutun</i> , खुचौन् <i>khutsaun</i>	dig from below.
खल <i>khāl</i>	उद्घाटने	खलुन् <i>khūlan</i> , खल्यौन् <i>khūlyāun</i>	open (act.).
खूङ्ग <i>khūnz</i>	तनूरुहकर्षणे	खूङ्गुन् <i>khūnzun</i> , खूङ्गौन् <i>khūnzauv</i>	pluck (hair, feathers).
खौच <i>khōts</i>	भये	खव <i>khūt</i> , खौचौक् <i>khōtsauv</i>	* fear.
खोर <i>khōr</i>	भये	खौर्यौक् <i>khōryauv</i>	fear.
खस <i>khos</i>	तनूरुहकर्षणे	खसुन् <i>khāsun</i> , खसौन् <i>khōsaun</i>	pluck (more specially hair).

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
गङ् <i>gaṭṣh</i>	गतौ युक्तीभवने च	गौव् <i>gauv</i> ; (युक्तीभवने) गङ् <i>gaṭṣh</i> ; गयौव् <i>gayauv</i>	* go, be proper.
गण्ड <i>gaṇḍ</i>	ग्रन्थे	गण्डन् <i>gaṇḍun</i> गङ्गोन् <i>gaṅgyaun</i>	* tie, bind.
[गन <i>gan</i>	घनौभवने	गन्यौव् <i>ganyauv</i>	* become thick (of liquids), be strong].
गङ्ग <i>gaṅg</i>	संख्यानं	गङ्गवन् <i>gaṅgavun</i> , गङ्ग्यौन् <i>gaṅgyaun</i>	* count.
गङ्गाव <i>gaṅgāv</i>	च	गङ्गावोन् <i>gaṅgāvōun</i> गङ्गावोन् <i>gaṅgāvōun</i>	* ditto.
गर <i>gar</i>	घटने	गवन् <i>garun</i> गयौन् <i>garyaun</i>	* work metal.
गर्म <i>garm</i>	घर्मीभवने	गर्म्यौव् <i>garmyauv</i>	be hot.
गल <i>gal</i>	नाशे	गलु <i>gal</i> गज्यौव् <i>gajyauv</i>	* melt (neut.)
गांगल <i>gāṅgal</i>	परैवावस्थे	गांगल्यौव् <i>gāṅgalyauv</i>	be disturbed in one's work by others.
गांगल <i>gāṅgal</i>	च	गांगल्यौव् <i>gāṅgalyauv</i>	ditto.
गार <i>gār</i>	प्रवादे [बन्धवणे च]	गारवन् <i>gāravun</i> , गार्यौन् <i>gāryaun</i>	* remember affectionately, search eagerly for.

क	गाल <i>gāl</i>	नाशने	गोलुन् <i>gōlan</i> , गाञ्चोन् <i>gāñyaun</i>	* melt (active).
क	गिन्द <i>gind</i>	क्रीडायां	गुन्दुन् <i>gyundun</i> , गिङ्गोन् <i>ginzaun</i>	* play.
क	ग्यमत <i>gyamat</i>	हस्तोभवने	ग्यमद्योव् <i>gyamatyaav</i>	be thin.
क	गिलव <i>gilav</i>	अपहरणे धामणे च	गिलवुन् <i>gilavun</i> , गिलवोन् <i>gilavyaun</i>	steal, whirl about.
क	ग्यव <i>gyav</i>	गीतौ	ग्यवुन् <i>gyavun</i> , ग्यवोन् <i>gēvyauv</i>	* sing.
क	गौर <i>gōr</i>	समणे	गीरोव् <i>gīryauv</i>	totter, reel.
भा	गुजराव <i>guzarāv</i>	उपेक्षायाम्	गुजरोवुन् <i>guzarōvun</i> , गुजरवोन् <i>guzarāvyaun</i>	pass time.
भा	गुन्द <i>gund</i>	उपलब्धे	गुन्दुन् <i>gundun</i> , गुङ्गोन् <i>gunzaun</i>	censure.
क	गुप <i>gup</i>	गोपने	गुपुन् <i>gupun</i> , गुप्योन् <i>gupyauv</i>	hide.
क	गव <i>gōb</i>	गौरवे	गवद्योव् <i>gōbtyauv</i>	* be too heavy.
क	गुमन <i>guman</i>	धूसरे [धूसरतायाम्]	गुमन्योव् <i>gumanyauv</i>	be grey.
क	गुरट <i>guraṭ</i>	गौर [गौरतायाम्]	गुरद्योव् <i>guraṭyaav</i>	be fair coloured.
क	गुलव <i>gulav</i>	मुखलाङ्गने	गुलवुन् <i>gulavun</i> , गुलवोन् <i>gulavyaun</i>	roll in the mouth.
क	गवच <i>gōh</i>	दीप्तौ	गवद्योव् <i>gōhityauv</i>	shine.
क	गेर <i>gēr</i>	आवरणे	ग्यरुन् <i>gyūrun</i> , ग्योन् <i>gēryaun</i>	surround.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	गेल <i>gēl</i> गोर <i>gōr</i> गोबर <i>gōvar</i>	गेल्थोव् <i>gēlyawv</i> , [उपहासि मूलुन् <i>gyūlun</i>] गुलन् <i>gūrun</i> , गोथोन् <i>gōryaun</i> गोवथोन् <i>gōvaryawv</i>	be far away, [joke]. lament. be suddenly wakened (before one is thoroughly awake).
क	ग्रक <i>grak</i>	ग्रक्थोव् <i>grakyaaw</i>	* splash about (of liquids), boil over.
भा	ग्रज् <i>graz</i>	ग्रजुन् <i>grazun</i> , ग्रजोन् <i>grazaun</i>	* roar.
भा	ग्रश्र <i>grāçar</i>	ग्रश्रन् <i>grāçarun</i> , ग्रश्रथोन् <i>grāçaryaun</i>	take, stop raining.
क	ग्रश्राव <i>grāçarāv</i>	ग्रश्रोवुन् <i>grāçarōvun</i> , ग्रश्रावोन् <i>grāçarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	ग्रुव् <i>grōṭis</i>	ग्रुव्थोव् <i>grōṭsyaaw</i>	* shake liquid in a vessel.
क	ग्रुह <i>grāh</i>	ग्रुहुन् <i>grāhun</i> , ग्रुथोन् <i>grāyaun</i>	* grind.
क	चताव <i>catāv</i>	चतोवुन् <i>catōvun</i> , चतावोन् <i>catāryaun</i>	praise.
	चमक <i>camak</i>	चमक्थोव् <i>camakyaaw</i>	shine.

क	घार cār	बलाद्वयने	चोरन् cōrun, चाचीन् cāryaun.	tie tightly.
क	चाव cāv	पायने	चोरुन् cōrun, चाबौन् cāvyaun	* give to drink.
क	चि ci	पाने	चौन् cyaun	* drink.
क	चौर cīr	निष्पीडने	चूरुन् cyūrun, चौचीन् cīryaun	* squeeze or wring (cloth).
क	चुकाव cukāv	सूत्रनिश्चयैकरणे	चुकीरुन् cukōrun, चुकाबौन् cukāryaun	fix a price.
क	चुम cum	दौनतायाम्	चुमुन् cumun, चुम्यौन् cumyaun	be humble before, show humility to.
	चौखर caukhar	संकोचने	चौखरीव् caukharyauv	contract.
क	छक chak	कोणने	छकुन् chakun, छच्यौन् chacyaun	scatter.
क	छक्र chak ^{er}	अवकौर्णने	छक्रुन् chak ^{er} un, छक्र्यौन् chak ^{er} yaun	* scatter.
क	छक्राव chak ^{er} āv	च	छक्रोरुन् chak ^{er} ōrun, छक्राबौन् chak ^{er} ār- vyaun	ditto
क	छचूराव chat ^{er} āv	श्वेतैकरणे	छचूरोरुन् chat ^{er} ōrun, छचूराबौन् chat ^{er} ār- vyaun	make white.
	छत chat	श्वेत्ये	छत्यौव् chatyauv	be white.
	छन chan	पाने	छन्यौव् chanyauv	fall from a mass (e.g., grain falling from a basket.)

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क chap	दृष्टिकालयोः ज्ञेये	बपुन् chapun, बयौन् chapyaun	* wait for rain to pass over, pass time.
भा char	पुरीषोत्सर्गं	बेरन् charun, बयौन् charyau	* evacuate, go to stool.
क chal	चालने	बलुन् chalun, बयौन् chalyau	* wash, clean.
क chān	उत्पन्ने शान्ते च	बोनन् chōnun, बयौन् chānaun	* strain, sift, trim.
क chāñt	क्रोधादुद्धाविष्कारे	बोण्टुन् chōṇun, बयौन् chāñcyau	disclose a secret in anger.
क chāv	उपभोगे ज्ञेयणे च	बोवुन् chōvun, बयौन् chāvyaun	use, throw at.
भा chik	सेवने प्रमदने च	बुडुन् chynkun, बयौन् chicyau	* sprinkle, urinate.
क chindar	मोदने	बुन्दरन् chyndarun, बयौन् chindaryau	be stupefied.
क chav	मदे	बिबौन् chiryaun	be proud.
क chivārāv	मादने	बिवरोवुन् chivārōvun, बयौन् chivārāvyau	make proud.
क chōkal	संघट्टाभावे	बुकलौन् chōkalyau	be scattered.
क chōkav	जलावगाहने	बुकवुन् chōkavun, बयौन् chōkavyau	wash (active).

क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	कनीकरणे	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	reduce (active).
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	च	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	ditto
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	अपचये	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	be reduced.
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	ययीकरणे	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	spend.
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	च	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	ditto
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	कणमर्दने	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	thresh grain (by beating the stalks).
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	अधिज्ञेये	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	irritate.
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	त्यागे	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	* give up, dismiss.
भा	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	सेवायाम्	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	serve or work (in one's own house).
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	उद्वृत्तने	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	inlay, set with jewels.
भा	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	उपसेवायाम्	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	serve or work (in one's own house).
क	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	हेदने	कृञ् च॒ञ्च॑	* cut.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
चम <i>tsam</i>	बलीभवनै संगते च	चम्यौव् <i>tsamyauv</i>	(1) decrease in size (2) attend to, pay heed to (active).
चमठ <i>tsamath</i>	पर्युषिते	चमथौव् <i>tsamathyaav</i>	* be stale.
चर <i>tsar</i>	उपचये	चर्यौव् <i>tsaryauv</i>	increase.
चर <i>tsar</i>	चन्तःकोपे [को भा]	चरू <i>tsarū</i> (fem.)	be inwardly wrathful (of a woman). Only used in Past Part. fem.
क चरु <i>tsarū</i>	चारत्रियायाम्	चरुन् <i>tsarūtsun</i> , चरुौन् <i>tsarūtsaun</i>	spy.
क चल <i>tsal</i>	चलने	चलू <i>tsalū</i> , चलयौव् <i>tsalyauv</i>	* go away, escape.
भा चस <i>tsas</i>	अतिहासे	चसुन् <i>tsasun</i> , चस्यौन् <i>tsasyaun</i>	laugh loudly.
क चान <i>tsān</i>	प्रवेशने	चानुन् <i>tsānun</i> , चाबौन् <i>tsānāun</i>	* bring in.
क चाप <i>tsāp</i>	बदने	चापुन् <i>tsāpun</i> , चाप्यौन् <i>tsāpyaun</i>	* eat, gnaw.
क चार <i>tsār</i>	चयने	चारुन् <i>tsārun</i> , चार्यौन् <i>tsāryaun</i>	* collect.
क चाल <i>tsāl</i>	सहने	चालुन् <i>tsālun</i> , चाब्यौन् <i>tsābyaun</i>	bear, endure.

भा	खल <i>tsyakhāl</i>	सोत्पाशे	खलुन् <i>tsyakhālan</i> , खख्यौन् <i>tsyakhānyān</i>	laugh loudly.
भा	खङ्ग <i>tsyangg</i>	खर्व	खङ्गुन् <i>tsyanggun</i> , खङ्गौन् <i>tsāngnyān</i>	* rejoice.
भा	खत्र <i>tsyator</i>	उपेक्षयेव प्रेक्षणे	खत्रन् <i>tsyatārun</i> , खत्र्यौन् <i>tsāt-nyān</i>	look at with some scorn.
क	खल्ल <i>tsyall</i>	बलान्नवेशने [बलान्नवेशने- नान्यस्य पीडने]	खल्लुन् <i>tsyallun</i> , खल्ल्यौन् <i>tsāḷḷyān</i>	enter violently, hurt by entering violently.
क	चीजर <i>tsāḷar</i>	संज्ञापने	चीजरन् <i>tsyāḷarun</i> , चीज्यौन् <i>tsāḷ-nyān</i>	make a sign.
क	चीजराव <i>tsāḷarāv</i>	च	चीजरोवुन् <i>tsāḷarōvun</i> , चीजराव्यौन् <i>tsāḷarāv- vyān</i>	ditto.
क	चक्र <i>tsōk</i>	त्रोधिस्त्रीभवने च	चक्रौव् <i>tsōkyaav</i>	* be angry, be sour.
क	चक्र <i>tsōkar</i>	कोपने	चक्रन् <i>tsōkarun</i> , चक्र्यौन् <i>tsōk-nyān</i>	make angry.
क	चक्राव <i>tsōkarāv</i>	च	चक्रोवुन् <i>tsōkarōvun</i> , चक्राव्यौन् <i>tsōkarāv- vyān</i>	ditto.
क	चगनाव <i>tsōḡnāv</i>	चतुर्गुणीकरणे	चगनोवुन् <i>tsōḡnōvun</i> , चगनाव्यौन् <i>tsōḡnāv- vyān</i>	make fourfold.
	चच् <i>tsōts</i>	दत्तिसंकोचे	चच्यौव् <i>tsōtsyaav</i>	have insufficient means of livelihood.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	चम्ब <i>tsomb</i>	वेधने	चम्बुन् <i>tsombun</i> , चम्बोन् <i>tsombyaun</i>	* pierce, bore.
क	चम्राव <i>tsōm'rauv</i>	अल्पीकरणे संगतीकरणे च	चम्रावुन् <i>tsōm'rauvun</i> , चम्रावोन् <i>tsōm'ra- vyaun</i>	make less, cause to decrease, cause to attend to.
क	चुव <i>tsuv</i>	कलहे	चुवन् <i>tsuv^{an}</i> , चुव्येन् <i>tsuvyēyan</i>	quarrel (only used in fem.).
क	चुँट <i>tsūṭ</i>	अधःशब्दे [अपानशब्दे]	चुँटुन् <i>tsūṭun</i> , चुँचोन् <i>tsūṭcyau</i>	break wind with noise.
क	चूर <i>tsūr</i>	शोण्याघाते	चूरन् <i>tsūrun</i> , चूयौन् <i>tsūryau</i>	have sexual inter- course with.
क	चुँट <i>tsēṭ</i>	कुटने	चुँटुन् <i>tsyūtun</i> , चुँचौन् <i>tsēcyau</i>	* pound to powder.
क	चुन <i>tsēn</i>	चेतने	चुनुन् <i>tsyūnun</i> , चुनौन् <i>tsēnyau</i>	know by a sign.
क	चूह <i>ts^{oh}</i>	चूये	चूहन् <i>ts^{ohun}</i> , चूशौन् <i>ts^oçau</i>	* suck.
क	कुट <i>ts^{hat}</i>	उत्क्षेपणे	कुटुन् <i>ts^{hatun}</i> , कुचौन् <i>ts^hacyau</i>	winnow.
	कूर <i>ts^{har}</i>	रिक्तीभवने	कुचौव् <i>ts^haryau</i>	be empty.
[क]	कल <i>ts^{hal}</i>	कलने	कलुन् <i>ts^{halun}</i> , कलौन् <i>ts^halyau</i>	deceive.
क	काड <i>ts^{hād}</i>	अख्येपणे	काडुन् <i>ts^{hōdun}</i> , काचौन् <i>ts^hāyau</i>	* search.

क	खंड <i>ts'hāḍ</i>	च	खंडुन् <i>ts'hōḍun</i> , खंज्योन् <i>ts'hāñjyaun</i>	* search.
क	खण्ड <i>ts'hand</i>	च	खण्डुन् <i>ts'hāṇḍun</i> , खंज्योन् <i>ts'hāñjyaun</i>	ditto.
	खंदिन् <i>ts'hāḍts'han</i>	खलीभवने	खंदिन्यौव् <i>ts'hāñjyaun</i>	be light.
	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	अशुद्धीभवने	खट्यौव् <i>ts'hēṭyaun</i>	be impure.
क	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	अशुद्धीकरणे	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	make impure.
क	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	च	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	ditto.
	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	बेदे	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	* be bored, be torn, be split.
	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	शसे	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	be quieted.
क	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	शमने	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	make quiet.
क	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	च	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	ditto.
	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	निसारीभवने	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	be empty (though apparently full).
	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	खलीभवने	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	* be short.
क	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	खलीकरणे	खट् <i>ts'hyaṭ</i>	make short.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	कृतराव <i>ts'hōṭarāv</i>	च	कृतराव <i>ts'hōṭarāv</i> , कृतरावौ <i>ts'hōṭarāvau</i>	make short.
क	कुन् <i>ts'hun</i>	पातने	कुन् <i>ts'hun</i> , कुजौ <i>ts'hunau</i>	* pour, clothe.
क	जंजर <i>zōjar</i>	तलणे	जंजरन् <i>zōjarun</i> , जंजरीन् <i>zōjaryan</i>	pare.
क	जप <i>zap</i>	जपने	जपुन् <i>zapun</i> , जपौ <i>zapyan</i>	pray.
क	जर <i>zar</i>	सहने	जरन् <i>zarun</i> , जरीन् <i>zaryan</i>	* bear.
	जल <i>zal</i>	जलवत्सादावगमे	जलौ <i>zalyau</i>	* taste like water.
भा	जाग <i>zāg</i>	प्रतिजागरे	जागुन् <i>zōgun</i> , जाग्यौ <i>zōgyan</i>	be watchful.
क	जान <i>zān</i>	अवबोधने	जानुन् <i>zōnun</i> , जाजौ <i>zāñan</i>	* know.
क	जाल <i>zāl</i>	दाहे	जालुन् <i>zōlan</i> , जाज्यौ <i>zōjyan</i>	burn.
	जि <i>zō</i>	जनने	जाव् <i>zāv</i> , जायौ <i>zāyau</i> .	* be born.
	जिङ्गर <i>zinggar</i>	विकलीभवने	जिङ्गरीव् <i>zinggaryau</i>	be thin.
	जङ्गर <i>zōnggar</i>	वैकल्ये	जङ्गरीव् <i>zōnggaryau</i>	ditto.
	जंजर <i>zōzar</i>	जंजरे	जंजरीव् <i>zōzaryau</i>	be dried up, ready to wither.

क	जुव <i>zuv</i>	जीवने	जुबौव् <i>zuvyauv</i>	live.
क	जुवर् <i>zuvər</i>	सजीवीकरणे	जुवर्न् <i>zuvərən</i> , जुवर्ग्यौन् <i>zuvərgyaun</i>	cause to live.
भा	जुवराव <i>zuvərāv</i>	च	जुवरोवुन् <i>zuvərōvun</i> , जुवराब्यौन् <i>zuvārābyaun</i>	ditto.
क	ज्वस <i>zōs</i>	कासे	ज्वसुन् <i>zōsun</i> , ज्वसौन् <i>zōsoun</i>	cough.
क	जीठर् <i>zēthər</i>	दीर्घीकरणे	ज्यठर्न् <i>zyēthərən</i> , जीठर्थ्यौन् <i>zēthərgyaun</i>	cause to live.
क	जीठराव <i>zēthərāv</i>	च	जीठरोवुन् <i>zēthərōvun</i> , जीठराब्यौन् <i>zēthərābyaun</i>	ditto.
क	जेठ <i>zēth</i>	घावतीभवने	जेबौव् <i>zēthyauv</i>	be long.
क	जेन् <i>zēn</i>	जये	ज्यनुन् <i>zyēnun</i> , जेजौन् <i>zējoun</i>	* conquer.
क	जोत <i>zōt</i>	दीप्तौ	जोत्बौव् <i>zōtyauv</i>	* shine.
क	जोवर् <i>zōvər</i>	उत्पादने	जुवर्न् <i>zūvərən</i> , जोवर्ग्यौन् <i>zōvərgyaun</i>	bring forth.
क	जोवराव <i>zōvərāv</i>	च	जोवरोवुन् <i>zōvərōvun</i> , जोवराब्यौन् <i>zōvārābyaun</i>	ditto.
क	जर्व <i>zərav</i>	सहने	जर्वुन् <i>zəravun</i> , जर्व्यौन् <i>zərgyaun</i>	bear.
क	जल् <i>zəl</i>	तलणे	जलुन् <i>zəlun</i> , जल्यौन् <i>zəlyauv</i>	* pare.
क	टक <i>tal</i>	शब्दवदने	टकुन् <i>ṭakun</i> , टचौन् <i>ṭacyaun</i>	bite in two with a noise.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	टप <i>tap</i>	परीक्षपरिभाषणे	टपुन् <i>tapun</i> , टपौन् <i>tapyaun</i>	blame behind one's back.
	टल <i>tal</i>	परिवर्त	टलौव् <i>talayauv</i>	be exchanged.
भा	टांग <i>tāṅg</i>	घोरवाशिते	टौगुन् <i>tōgun</i> , टौजौन् <i>tājyaun</i>	emit a loud cry or roar.
भा	टाल <i>tāl</i>	उपेक्षागमने	टौलुन् <i>tōlun</i> , टौजौन् <i>tājyaun</i>	go away with indifference.
	द्यठ <i>tyath</i>	तिक्तोभवने	द्यथौव् <i>tēthyauv</i>	* be bitter.
क	द्यप <i>tyap</i>	संघट्टे	द्यपुन् <i>tyapun</i> , द्यपौन् <i>tēpyaun</i>	squeeze something in.
	द्यम्ब <i>tyamb</i>	लोपे	द्यम्बौव् <i>tēmbayauv</i>	hammer.
क	द्वकव <i>tōkav</i>	कूटाघाते	द्वकुबुन् <i>tōkavun</i> , द्वक्यौव् <i>tōkavyaun</i>	cause to disappear.
क	टुक <i>tuk</i>	आखुवच्छेदने	टुकुन् <i>tukun</i> , टुक्यौन् <i>tucyaun</i>	bore like a rat.
	द्वट <i>tōt</i>	दृत्तिसंकोचे	द्वद्यौव् <i>tōtyauv</i>	have insufficient means of livelihood.
क	टुव <i>tuw</i>	संकोचने	टुवुन् <i>tuwun</i> , टुवौन् <i>tuwyaun</i>	close (eyes, a flower, &c.)
	टौठ <i>tōṭh</i>	प्रसादे	टौथौव् <i>tōṭhyauv</i>	be pleased.

क	टक् <i>ṭak</i>	धावने	टक्खौव् <i>ṭakyaav</i>	* run.
क	टस् <i>ṭas</i>	खननेवेने	टसुन् <i>ṭasun</i> , टसौन् <i>ṭasaun</i>	cause to forcibly enter.
क	टसन <i>ṭasan</i>	च	टसनन् <i>ṭasanun</i> , टसनीन् <i>ṭasānaun</i>	ditto.
क	टग <i>ṭag</i>	हलने	टग्यौव् <i>ṭagyaav</i>	be deceived.
क	टगाव <i>ṭagāv</i>	शाये	टगोवुन् <i>ṭagōvun</i> , टगायौन् <i>ṭagāyaun</i>	deceive.
क	टहर <i>ṭahar</i>	संस्थाने	टह्यौव् <i>ṭaharyaav</i>	stop.
क	टाक् <i>ṭāk</i>	उत्खनने	टोकुन् <i>ṭōkun</i> , टाचौन् <i>ṭācyaun</i>	bury.
क	टास <i>ṭās</i>	च	टोसुन् <i>ṭōsun</i> , टासौन् <i>ṭāsaun</i> or टासौन् <i>ṭāsaun</i>	ditto.
क	टौक् <i>ṭhik</i>	स्थितौ	टौक्खौव् <i>ṭhikyaav</i>	stand firmly.
क	टुकु <i>ṭhuk</i>	उत्खनने	टुकुन् <i>ṭhukun</i> , टुचौन् <i>ṭhucyaun</i>	bury.
क	डक् <i>ḍak</i>	शब्दव्याने	डकुन् <i>ḍakun</i> , डचौन् <i>ḍacyaun</i>	drink with a noise.
क	डख्र <i>ḍakhar</i>	बाधारीकरणे	डख्रन् <i>ḍakharun</i> , डख्र्यौन् <i>ḍakhar-yaun</i>	depend upon.
क	डख्राव <i>ḍakharāv</i>	च	डख्रोवुन् <i>ḍakharōvun</i> , डख्रायौन् <i>ḍakhar-yaun</i>	ditto.
क	डखव <i>ḍakhav</i>	दखवदाधारीकरणे	डखवुन् <i>ḍakhavun</i> , डखवौन् <i>ḍakhavyaun</i>	lean upon a support, such as a stick.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
डर <i>dar</i>	भये	डर्यौव् <i>daryauv</i>	* fear.
डल <i>dal</i>	उल्लङ्घने	डलु <i>dāl^u</i> , डल्यौव् <i>dalyauv</i>	* pass over.
डोट <i>dōṭ</i>	निद्वेषे	डोटुन् <i>dōṭun</i> , डौच्यौन् <i>dōchyaun</i>	hate.
डाल <i>dāl</i>	परिवर्तने	डोलुन् <i>dōlan</i> , डाल्यौन् <i>dālyauv</i>	exchange.
डल <i>dāl</i>	शैथिल्ये	डल्यौव् <i>dēlyauv</i>	be slack.
डुक <i>dōk</i>	देहानाजने	डुक्यौव् <i>dōkyauv</i>	be bent (of the body).
डुव <i>dub</i>	मज्जने	डुव्यौव् <i>dubyauv</i>	dive.
डुलव <i>dulav</i>	गोलवद्भाषणे	डुलवुन् <i>dulavun</i> , डुल्यौन् <i>dulyauv</i>	* roll (act).
डुलनाव <i>dulanāv</i>	च	डुलनोवुन् <i>dulanōvun</i> , डुलनाच्यौन् <i>dulanāchyaun</i>	ditto.
डुव <i>duv</i>	संमार्जने	डुवुन् <i>duvun</i> , डुव्यौन् <i>duvyauv</i>	* sweep.
डुस <i>dōs</i>	देहानाजने	डुस्यौव् <i>dōsyaun</i>	be bent (of the body).
डुष <i>dōṣ</i>	प्रेक्षणे	डुटुन् <i>dōṣṭhun</i> , डौच्यौन् <i>dōchyaun</i>	* look, see.
डोल <i>dōl</i>	अपरिचयने	डुल <i>dūl^u</i> , डौच्यौव् <i>dōchyaun</i>	be unused.

क	तग tag	तज्जतायास्	तग् tag ^u , तच्चौव् taḡyauv	be possible, be known how to be done.
क	तङ्ग tang	संकीचे	तङ्गाव् tangyauv	be tight.
क	तच्च्र taṭṣar	तापने	तच्च्रन् taṭṣarun, तच्च्यौन् taṭṣaryauv	make hot.
क	तच्च्राव taṭṣarāv	च	तच्च्रीवुन् taṭṣarōvun, तच्च्रावौन् taṭṣarāvyaun	* ditto.
क	तच्च taṭch	तच्छणे	तच्छुन् taṭchun, तच्छौन् taṭchyaun	* pare.
क	तच्च्र taṭṣar	विरलीकरणे	तच्च्रन् taṭṣarun, तच्च्यौन् taṭṣaryauv	make thin.
क	तच्च्राव taṭṣarāv	च	तच्च्रीवुन् taṭṣarōvun, तच्च्रावौन् taṭṣarāvyaun	ditto.
	तत tat	तप्तीभवने	तत्तौव् tatyaunv	* be hot.
	तन tan	विरलीभवने	तन्तौव् tanyauv	* be thin.
क	तप tap	औष्ण्योपादाने	तपुन् tapun, तप्यौन् tapyauv	take for the sake of warmth.
	तम्बल tambal	चाङ्गल्ये	तम्बल्यौव् tambalyauv	* change one's mind (from sudden grief or joy).
	तर tar	तरणे	तर्तु tar ^u , तर्तौव् taryauv	* cross.
क	तल tal	सेहपाके	तल्लुन् talun, तल्ल्यौन् taḡlyauv	fry.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	Root.	Sanskrit Meaning.	Past and Aorist.	English Meaning.
क	तव <i>tav</i>	भजने	तवुन् <i>tavun</i> , तद्यौन् <i>tadyaun</i>	roast.
क	ताड <i>tād</i>	कोपाद्विचारेण	तीडुन् <i>tāḍun</i> , ताड्यौन् <i>tāḍyaun</i> [ताड्यौन् <i>tāḍyaun</i>]	be angry with, reproach angrily.
क	तार <i>tār</i>	तारणे	तीरुन् <i>torun</i> , तार्यौन् <i>tāryaun</i>	* pass over (act.)
क	ताल <i>tāl</i>	उत्थापने	तीलुन् <i>tolun</i> , ताज्यौन् <i>tajyaun</i>	set up.
क	ताव <i>tāv</i>	तापने	तीवुन् <i>torun</i> , तायौन् <i>tāryaun</i>	* heat, make red hot.
	त्यम्ब <i>tyamb</i>	दृक्चाक्षले	त्यम्बौव् <i>tēmbyaun</i>	look eagerly.
क	तीज् <i>tīz</i>	निशने	त्युज्जुण् <i>tyūzaruṇ</i> , तीज्यौन् <i>tīzaryaun</i>	sharpen, whet.
क	तीज्ज्राव <i>tīz-rāv</i>	च	तीज्ज्रोवुन् <i>tīz-rōvun</i> , तीज्ज्राद्यौन् <i>tīz-rādyauṇ</i>	ditto.
	तीलन <i>tilan</i>	स्निग्धपूतीभावे	तीलन्यौव् <i>tilanyaun</i>	have a bad taste of oil.
	तुन्द <i>tund</i>	तीक्ष्णीभवेन	तुन्द्यौव् <i>tundyaun</i>	be hot tempered.
क	तम्ब <i>tōmb</i>	तूलवद्विवरणे	तम्बुन् <i>tōmbun</i> , तम्ब्यौन् <i>tōmbyaun</i>	expand a thing (like cotton).
क	तुल <i>tul</i>	उत्थापने	तुलुन् <i>tulun</i> , तुल्यौन् <i>tulyaun</i>	* set up, left.
	तूर <i>tūr</i>	शीतीभवने	तूर्यौव् <i>tūryauv</i>	be cold.

तूरण <i>tūraṇ</i>	च	तूरणीव् <i>tūraṇyauv</i>	be cold.
तेज <i>tēḥ</i>	तौक्ष्णीभवने	तेजोव् <i>tezauv</i>	be sharp (of a man, a knife, &c).
तेल <i>tēl</i>	विस्रोटादिदंशे	तेखोव् <i>tēlyauv</i>	to smart, of pimples, &c.
तोल <i>tōl</i>	तुलने	तूलन् <i>tūlan</i> , तोखौन् <i>tōjyaun</i>	* weigh.
तोवर <i>tōvar</i>	क्रूरदृष्टे	तोवरन् <i>tōvarun</i> , तोवौन् <i>tōvaryauv</i>	* look in a fierce way.
तोवराव <i>tōvarāv</i>	च	तोवरोवुन् <i>tōvarōvun</i> , तोवराखौन् <i>tōvarāvyauv</i>	ditto.
तोष <i>tōṣ</i>	तोषे	[तुदु <i>tūḥ</i>], तोखौव् <i>tōjhyauv</i> , [तोखौव् <i>tōchyaun</i>]	be satisfied.
चकर <i>trakar</i>	ककैशीभवने	चकौव् <i>trakaryauv</i>	be hard.
चकराव <i>trakarāv</i>	ककैशीकरणे	चकरोवुन् <i>trakarōvun</i> , चकराखौन् <i>trakarāvyauv</i>	make hard.
चगनाव <i>trag'nāv</i>	चिगुणीकरणे	चग्नोवुन् <i>trag'nōvun</i> , चगनाखौन् <i>trag'nāvyauv</i>	make three-fold.
चच <i>trats</i>	भये	चखौव् <i>tratsyauv</i>	fear.
चचराव <i>trats'rāv</i>	चासने	चचरोवुन् <i>trats'ōvun</i> , चचराखौन् <i>trats'ōrāvyauv</i>	cause to fear.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	त्रप <i>trap</i>	आच्छादने	चपुन् <i>trapun</i> , चयौन् <i>trapyau</i>	cover up, close.
क	त्रपुर <i>trapur</i>	च	चुपुरन् <i>trapurun</i> , चुपुचौन् <i>trapuryau</i>	ditto.
	त्रस <i>tras</i>	भवे	चस्यौव् <i>trasyauv</i>	fear.
क	त्रस्राव् <i>trāsṛāṇv</i>	वासने	चस्रावुन् <i>trāsṛāṇun</i> , चस्रायौन् <i>trāsṛāṇyau</i>	cause to fear.
क	त्राव् <i>trāṇv</i>	त्यागे	चोवुन् <i>trōṇun</i> , चायौन् <i>trōṇyau</i>	* let go.
क	त्रुक <i>truk</i>	कणशङ्केदने भक्षणे च	चुकुन् <i>trukun</i> , चुच्यौन् <i>trucyau</i>	cut to pieces, eat.
क	त्रम्ब <i>trōmb</i>	सूचीवति	चम्बुन् <i>trombun</i> , चम्ब्यौन् <i>trōmbiyau</i>	prick.
क	त्रम्बव् <i>trōmbav</i>	च	चम्बवुन् <i>trōmbavun</i> , चम्बयौन् <i>trōmbavyau</i>	ditto.
	त्रष् <i>trōṣ</i>	कटिनौभवने	चष्यौव् <i>trōṣyauv</i>	be hard.
क	त्रश्राव् <i>trōṣṛāṇv</i>	कटिनौकरणे	चश्रावुन् <i>trōṣṛāṇun</i> , चश्रायौन् <i>trōṣṛāṇyau</i>	make hard.
	त्रौर <i>trōr</i>	विस्फोटिकाकार्कश्ये	चौरौव् <i>troryauv</i>	be hardened (of an opened boil, &c.)
	थक <i>thak</i>	श्रमे	थकु, थय्यौव्	* be weary.
क	थज्ज् <i>thazor</i>	उच्चैकरणे	थज्जुन् <i>thazorun</i> , थज्ज्यौन् <i>thazorṇyau</i>	make high.

क	यज्जराव <i>thaz^arāv</i>	च	यज्जरोवुन् <i>thaz^arōvun</i> , यज्जरावौन् <i>thaz^arāv- vyaun</i>	make high.
	यद् <i>thad</i>	उन्नतौभवने	यद्यौव् <i>thadyauv</i>	* be high.
	यम <i>tham</i>	अवहसो	यस्यौव् <i>thamyauv</i>	be at rest.
	यर <i>thar</i>	कमने	यस्यौव् <i>tharyauv</i>	tremble.
क	यल <i>thal</i>	शाखाच्छेदने	यलुन् <i>thalun</i> , यज्यौन् <i>thajyaun</i>	trim branches.
क	यव <i>thav</i>	स्थापने	यवुन् <i>thavun</i> , यव्यौन् <i>thavyaun</i>	set up.
	याव <i>thāv</i> इति केचित्	च	यौवुन् <i>thōvun</i> , यावौन् <i>thāvyauun</i>	* ditto.
	यौशर <i>thōṣṭhar</i>	लरायाम्	यौशर्यौव् <i>thōṣṭharyauv</i>	be in a hurry.
	यार <i>thār</i>	लरायाम्	यार्यौव् <i>thāryauv</i>	ditto.
क	य्यक <i>thyak</i>	स्वाधायाम्	य्यकुन् <i>thyyakun</i> , य्यचौन् <i>thēyyauun</i>	* praise oneself falsely, boast.
क	थिप <i>thip</i>	ताडने	थुपुन् <i>thypun</i> , थिप्यौन् <i>thīpyaun</i>	beat, slap.
क	थ्यक <i>thōk</i>	निन्दिवने	थ्यकुन् <i>thokun</i> , थ्यचौन् <i>thōyyaun</i>	spit.
क	थुर <i>thur</i>	घटने	थुरन् <i>thurun</i> , थुर्यौन् <i>thuryaun</i>	* form (a pot, used of potters).

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क दग dag	घातने	दगुन् dagun, दञ्चोन् dajyaun	* beat, pound.
क दज dag	भस्मीभवने	ददु दद ^u , दजौव dazauv	* be burnt.
क ददराव dadrāv	क्षीणीकरणे	ददुरोवुन् dadrōvun, ददुरावोन् dadrāvyaun	make wasted, make weak.
क दप dap	आज्ञायां कथने च	दपुन् dapun, दप्योन् dajyaun	* say, order.
क दबव dabav	भूनिक्षेपे	दबवुन् dabavun, दबवोन् dabavyaun	press down to the ground.
भा दम dam	वाताग्निशब्दयोः	दमुन् damun, दम्योन् dajyaun	roar (of wind on fire).
दर dar	स्वर्णाविकृतिवर्षनिरोधेषु	दर्यौव daryauv	be steady, (2) remember, (3) stop raining.
क दर darr	स्थिरीकरणे	दरैन् darrun, दर्योन् darryaun	make steady.
क दल dal	विदारणे	दलुन् dalun, दञ्चोन् dajyaun	tear in pieces.
भा दव dav	शीघ्रगतौ	दवुन् davun, दव्योन् davyaun	* run.
क दस das	घातने	दसुन् dasun, दस्योन् dasyaun or दसौन् dasaun	beat.
क दाञ्जर dāñjar	धाने	दाञ्जरेन् dāñjarun, दाञ्जरोन् dāñjaryauv	consider, reflect.

क	दाञ्जराव <i>dāñ^{ra}nāv</i>	च	दाञ्जरोवुन् <i>dāñ^{ra}ōvun</i> , दाञ्जरावौन् <i>dāñ^{ra}nāvoun</i>	consider, reflect.
क	दार <i>dār</i>	धारणोद्धारणोः	दोबन् <i>dōrun</i> , दायौन् <i>dāyoun</i> .	* place, lend money.
क	दाव <i>dāv</i>	दापने	दोवुन् <i>dōrun</i> , दायौन् <i>dāyoun</i>	cause to give.
क	दि <i>dī</i>	दाने	द्युतुन् <i>dyutun</i> , दिद्यौन् <i>dīdyaun</i>	* give.
क	दगव <i>dōgav</i>	बवखण्डने	दगवुन् <i>dōgavun</i> , दगवौन् <i>dōgavyaun</i>	husk (grain).
क	दगनाव <i>dōg^anāv</i>	द्विगुणिकरणे	दगनोवुन् <i>dōg^anōvun</i> , दगनावौन् <i>dōg^anāvyoun</i>	double.
	ददर <i>dōdar</i>	जीर्णोभवेने	ददयौव् <i>dōdaryauv</i>	* rot.
क	ददराव <i>dōdarāv</i>	जीर्णिकरणे	ददरोवुन् <i>dōdarōvun</i> , ददरावौन् <i>dōdarāvyoun</i>	cause to rot.
क	दद्वर <i>dōdvar</i>	भूनिक्षेपे	दद्वरुन् <i>dōdvarun</i> , दद्वरौन् <i>dōdvaryaun</i>	* bury, hide in the ground.
क	दद्वराव <i>dōdvarāv</i>	च	दद्वरोवुन् <i>dōdvarōvun</i> , दद्वरावौन् <i>dōdvarāvyoun</i>	ditto.
क	दय <i>dōy</i>	दोहने	दयुन् <i>doyun</i> , दयौन् <i>dōyyaun</i>	* milk.
	दय <i>dōṣ</i>	कवने	दयु <i>dōṣ^a</i> , दयौव् <i>dōṣyauv</i>	trickle.
क	दूङ्कर <i>dūntskar</i>	पृथक्पृथक्करणे	दूङ्करुन् <i>dūntskarun</i> , दूङ्करौन् <i>dūntskaryaun</i>	separate.
क	दूङ्कराव <i>dūntskarāv</i>	च	दूङ्करोवुन् <i>dūntskarōvun</i> , दूङ्करावौन् <i>dūntskaryaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

Root.	Sanskrit Meaning.	Past and Aorist.	English Meaning.
क दूर <i>dūr</i>	दूरीभवने	दूरीव् <i>dūryaav</i>	be distant.
क दीन <i>dōn</i>	पिचिवरणे	दूनुन् <i>dānun</i> , दीञीन् <i>dōñāun</i>	* card cotton.
क दीर <i>dōr</i>	गतिचातुर्ये	दीरीव् <i>dōryaav</i>	* run.
क दून <i>dōn</i>	वस्त्रादिरजोपहरणे	दूनुन् <i>dānun</i> , दूनीन् <i>dōñāun</i>	* shake out dust, disperse.
क दूनव <i>dōnav</i>	च	दूनुवुन् <i>dānavun</i> , दूनवीन् <i>dōnavāun</i>	ditto.
क दूय <i>dōy</i>	वैमनस्ये	दूयुन् <i>dāyūn</i> , दूयीन् <i>dāyyaun</i>	regret.
क द्रुक <i>druk</i>	क्रीडायाम्	द्रुकुन् <i>drukun</i> , दूचीन् <i>drucyaun</i>	play.
क द्रुग <i>drug</i>	मूल्यातिशये	द्रुयीव् <i>drugyaav</i>	be dear, expensive.
क द्रुग्राव <i>drugrāv</i>	दुर्मूलीकरणे	द्रुग्रीवुन् <i>drugrāvun</i> , द्रुग्रावीन् <i>drugrāvāun</i>	make dear, expensive.
क दूष्राव <i>dōṣrāv</i>	दोषदाने	दूष्रीवुन् <i>dōṣrāvun</i> , दूष्रावीन् <i>dōṣrāvāun</i>	blame.
क द्रेष्ठ <i>drēṭh</i>	कार्कशे	द्रेष्टीव् <i>drēṭhyaav</i>	be hard.
भा नच <i>nats</i>	नर्तने	नचुन् <i>natsun</i> , नचीन् <i>natsaun</i>	* dance.
क नञ्ज <i>nāñar</i>	नभीकरणे	नञ्जुन् <i>nāñarun</i> , नञ्जीन् <i>nāñarāun</i>	make naked.

क	नञ्जराव <i>nāñṣarāv</i>	च	नञ्जरोवुन् <i>nāñṣarōvun</i> , नञ्जराबोन् <i>nāñṣarāvyaun</i>	make naked.
	नट <i>naṭ</i>	कस्ये	नद्योव् <i>naḍyauv</i>	* tremble.
क	नट्जराव <i>naṭṣarāv</i>	कस्यने	नट्जरोवुन् <i>naṭṣarōvun</i> , नट्जराबोन् <i>naṭṣarāvyaun</i>	cause to shake, wave.
	नन <i>nan</i>	नन्नीभवने	नन्योव् <i>nanyauv</i>	be naked.
भा	नप <i>nap</i>	उत्कोचदाने	ननुन् <i>naṇun</i> , नन्यौन् <i>nanyauṇ</i>	bribe.
	नम <i>nam</i>	नद्योभवने	नन्यौव् <i>nanyauv</i>	* bend, bow.
	नव <i>nav</i>	अतिशयोभवने नूतनार्थां च	नद्योव् <i>naḍyauv</i>	be excessive, be new.
	नश <i>naṣ</i>	अदर्शने	[नट् <i>nāṭh</i>], नद्यौव् <i>naḍyauv</i>	* disappear.
क	नह्वाव <i>nahāv</i>	क्रियाघाते	नह्योवुन् <i>nahōvun</i> , नह्यौन् <i>nahāryauṇ</i>	* obliterate (writing) put a stop to.
	नौठ <i>nāṭh</i>	निष्फलोभवने	नौथोव् <i>nāṭhyauv</i>	be fruitless.
	नौप <i>nāṭp</i>	दोष्टो	नौथ्योव् <i>nāṭhyauv</i>	shine.
क	नाव <i>nāv</i>	शोधने	नोवुन् <i>nōvun</i> , नाथौन् <i>nāryauṇ</i>	clean, polish.
क	नाश्र <i>nāṣar</i>	नाशने	नाश्रुन् <i>nāṣrun</i> , नाश्र्यौन् <i>nāṣaryauṇ</i>	destroy.
क	नाश्रवाव <i>nāṣarāv</i>	च	नाश्ररोवुन् <i>nāṣarōvun</i> , नाश्रराबोन् <i>nāṣarāvyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	नि <i>ni</i>	हरणे	नून् <i>nyūn</i> , नियौन् <i>niyau</i>	* take.
	निक <i>nik</i>	अस्तीभवने	निकीव् <i>nikiyauv</i>	* become small.
क	निक्र <i>nikar</i>	खण्डनः करणे	न्युक्खन् <i>nyukḥṣan</i> , निकर्द्यौन् <i>nikarḍyau</i>	break to pieces.
	निक्राव <i>nikarāv</i>	च	निक्रोवुन् <i>nikarōvun</i> , निक्राव्यौन् <i>nikarāvyaun</i>	* ditto.
क	न्यङ्गल <i>nyaggaḷ</i>	निगरणे	न्यङ्गलुन् <i>nyaggaḷun</i> , न्यङ्गव्यौन् <i>nyaggaḷyau</i>	swallow.
क	न्यत <i>nyat</i>	पशुरोमहन्तने	न्यतुन् <i>nyatun</i> , न्यत्तौन् <i>nyatsau</i>	* shear (animals).
क	न्यवाज् <i>nyawāḍ</i>	निवेदने	न्यवोजुन् <i>nyawōzun</i> , न्यवज्यौन् <i>nyawōḍyau</i>	address.
	नील <i>nīl</i>	हरितीभवने	नील्यौव् <i>nīlyauv</i>	become blue.
क	न्मूर <i>nōmār</i>	नक्षीकरणे	न्मूरन् <i>nōmārūn</i> , न्मूर्यौन् <i>nōmārḍyau</i>	* cause to bow.
क	न्मूराव <i>nōmārāv</i>	च	न्मूरोवुन् <i>nōmārōvun</i> , न्मूराव्यौन् <i>nōmārāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	न्व्वर <i>nōvār</i>	अतिशयीकरणे	न्व्वरन् <i>nōvārūn</i> , न्व्वर्यौन् <i>nōvārḍyau</i>	make excessive.
क	न्व्वराव <i>nōvārāv</i>	च	न्व्वरोवुन् <i>nōvārōvun</i> , न्व्वराव्यौन् <i>nōvārāvyaun</i>	ditto.

क	नेहव <i>nēchav</i>	खातीकरणे	नेहवुन् <i>nēchvun</i> , नेह्यौन् <i>nēchavyaun</i>	proclaim.
क	नेर <i>nēr</i>	निर्गसने	द्राव् <i>drāv</i> , द्रायौव् <i>drāyauv</i>	* go forth.
क	नोस् <i>nōm^{or}</i>	संचेपीकरणे	नसूरन् <i>nūm^{or}run</i> , नोस्यौन् <i>nōm^{or}ryaun</i>	abstract, abridge.
क	नोस्राव <i>nōm^{or}rāv</i>	च	नोस्रोवुन् <i>nōm^{or}rōvun</i> , नोस्रायौन् <i>nōm^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	न्याव <i>nyāv</i>	हारणे	न्योवुन् <i>nyōvun</i> , न्यायौन् <i>nyāvyauv</i>	cause to take.
	पक <i>pak</i>	गती	पक् <i>pak^u</i> , पचौव् <i>pacyauv</i>	* go.
क	पकताव <i>pachatāv</i>	पश्चात्तापे	पकतोवुन् <i>pachalōvun</i> , पकतायौन् <i>pachatāvy- aun</i>	regret.
क	पकान <i>pachān</i>	उपलक्षणे	पकानुन् <i>pachōnun</i> , पकजौन् <i>pachānāun</i>	recognize.
	पच <i>pats</i>	कृषविशेषे	पचु <i>pats^u</i> , पचौव् <i>patsauv</i>	trust with a loan.
क	पज् <i>paj^{or}</i>	आवेष्टा सीवने	पज् <i>paj^{or}run</i> , पज्यौन् <i>paj^{or}ryaun</i>	fell a hem (in sewing).
क	पज्राव <i>paj^{or}rāv</i>	च	पज्रोवुन् <i>paj^{or}rōvun</i> , पज्रायौन् <i>paj^{or}rāvyauv</i>	ditto.
	पज् <i>paz</i>	युक्तीभवने सत्याविभागे च	पज्यौव् <i>pazyauv</i>	be fit, turn out to be true.
क	पज् <i>paz^{or}</i>	सत्याविष्करणे	पज् <i>paz^{or}run</i> , पज्यौन् <i>paz^{or}ryaun</i>	show to be true.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क पञ्जराव <i>paçerāv</i>	च	पञ्जरोवुन् <i>paçerōvun</i> , पञ्जराबौन् <i>paçerābōvyaun</i>	show to be true.
क पठ <i>paṭ</i>	प्राप्नोति	पथौव् <i>paṭhyauv</i>	obtain.
क पठाव <i>paṭāv</i>	गतौ	पठोवुन् <i>paṭōvun</i> , पठायौन् <i>paṭāyōvyaun</i>	go.
क पठ <i>paṭh</i>	विद्याम्	पथौव् <i>paṭhyauv</i>	be successfully complete.
क पठ् <i>paṭh</i>	संस्कारे मीनादिशेषने च	पठ्ठन् <i>paṭhṭrun</i> , पठ्ठौन् <i>paṭhṭōryaun</i>	clean, gut fishes.
क पठ्ठाव <i>paṭhṭhāv</i>	संस्कारणे साधने च	पठ्ठरोवुन् <i>paṭhṭrōvun</i> , पठ्ठराबौन् <i>paṭhṭrābōvyaun</i>	ditto.
क पट् <i>paṭ</i>	कुत्सिते शब्दे	पटुन् <i>paṭun</i> , पच्चौन् <i>paṭṭyauv</i>	break wind.
क पप <i>paṭṭ</i>	परिणामे	पथौव् <i>paṭhyauv</i>	ripen.
क पय <i>paṭ</i>	धानादिपाके	पथुन् <i>paṭyūn</i> , पथ्यौन् <i>paṭṭyauv</i>	roast (metals, &c.), burn (bricks).
क पर <i>par</i>	पठने	परन् <i>parun</i> , पर्यौन् <i>paryaun</i>	* read.
क पर्वाव <i>parhāv</i>	परिचायास्	पर्खोवुन् <i>parhōvun</i> , पर्खाबौन् <i>parhābōvyaun</i>	test.
क पर्जन <i>parjan</i>	उपलक्षणं	पर्जनोन् <i>parjanun</i> , पर्जनौन् <i>parjanān</i>	* recognize.

क	पञ्जनाच् parzanāṅ	च	पञ्जनीयुन् parzanōṅ, पञ्जनायौन् parzanā- vyau	* recognize.
क	प्रज्जन् prajan	च	प्रज्जनुन् prajanun, प्रज्जौन् prajāṅ	ditto.
क	पल pal	गुप्तदाने	पलुन् palun, पळौन् paḷyau	give privately.
	पलज् palaz	उपसेवाधाम्	[पलज् palaz ^२], पलळौव् palazyauv	be useful.
	पलट palat	द्रवीभवनं	[पलटु palat ^३], पलळौव् palatyauv	melt, deliquesce.
क	पश् paṣ	विषादे	पश्यन् paṣun, पष्यौन् paṣyau	make sorrowful.
	पष्य paṣp	क्षरणे	पष्यौव् paṣpyauv	* drip.
	पाकन pākan	विस्फोटदिपाकै	पाकयौव् pākanyauv	roast grain (pop-corn.)
क	पाकव pākav	पचने	पाकडुन् pākḍun, पाक्यौन् pākavyau	* cook.
क	पाज् pāz	निःसारणे	पोजुन् pōzun, पाक्यौन् pāzyau	bring out from.
	पाथ pāth	सङ्गावे	पाथ्यौव् pāthyauv	be, become.
क	पार pār	केशवेणीकरणे च	पोरुन् pōrun, पाथौन् pāryau	* tie the hair, toss for an innings, &c.
क	पाल pāl	रक्षणे	पोलुन् pōlun, पाळ्यौन् pāḷyau	protect.
क	पाव pāv	पातने	पोडुन् pōḍun, पाळ्यौन् pāḷyau	* cause to fall, fell.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
भा	पास् <i>pās</i>	धिकरणे	पास् <i>pās</i> , पास्वीन् <i>pāsavyaun</i>	blame.
क	पास्राव <i>pās-rāv</i>	च	पास्रोवुन् <i>pās-rōun</i> , पास्राव्यौन् <i>pās-rāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	पि <i>pi</i>	पतने	प्यौव् <i>pyauv</i>	* fall.
भा	पिट <i>pit</i>	परिदेवने	प्युटुन् <i>pyutun</i> , पिच्यौन् <i>picyaun</i>	lament.
क	पिटराव <i>pit-rāv</i>	दीनिकरणे	पिटरोवुन् <i>pit-rōun</i> , पिटराव्यौन् <i>pit-rāvyaun</i>	cause to lament.
क	प्यतर <i>pyatar</i>	पालने	प्यतरेन् <i>pyatarun</i> , प्यतरेव्यौन् <i>pyataryauv</i>	protect.
	प्यद् <i>pyad</i>	दत्तज्ञतायाम्	प्यद्यौव् <i>pyadyauv</i>	be cognisant of.
	पिल <i>pil</i>	प्राप्तौ	पिल्यौव् <i>pilyauv</i>	be possible, arrive at.
क	पिलन <i>pilan</i>	प्रापणे	पिलेनुन् <i>pilanun</i> , पिलच्यौन् <i>pilānyaun</i>	cause to arrive, convey.
क	प्यव <i>pyav</i>	पाकार्थमश्रारम्भे	प्यवुन् <i>pyavun</i> , प्यव्यौन् <i>pēvyauv</i>	light fire for cooking.
	पिशल <i>piṣal</i>	पेशलीभवनं	पिशल्यौव् <i>piṣalyauv</i>	be soft.
	पिस <i>pis</i>	पाकेन बहिर्निःसरणे	पिस्यौव् <i>piṣyauv</i>	boil over.
	पिह <i>pih</i>	संचूर्णे	प्युहन् <i>pyuhun</i> , पिय्यौन् <i>piyyaun</i>	* grind.
क	पौर <i>pūr</i>	मंदुरतायाम्	पौर्यौव् <i>pūryauv</i>	be smooth, slippery.

क	पौट <i>pṭi</i>	खेदात्समीचणे	पौद्यौव् <i>pūḍyauv</i>	wait wearily.
क	पौटर <i>pūṭhar</i>	सशिञ्चं प्रतिक्षेपणे	पूटरन् <i>pyūṭharun</i> , पौट्यौन् <i>pūṭharyauṇ</i>	blame and instruct at once.
क	पौटराव <i>pūṭharāv</i>	च	पौटरोवुन् <i>pūṭharōvun</i> , पौटरावौन् <i>pūṭharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	पौनव <i>pīnav</i>	प्रसावने	पौनवुन् <i>pīnavun</i> , पौनवौन् <i>pīnavyaun</i>	bear (young).
ख	पुचन <i>puṭsan</i>	पुष्पादिखण्डशः करणे	पुचनन् <i>puṭsanun</i> , पुचनौन् <i>puṭsāṇaun</i>	pluck flowers, &c., to pieces.
क	पुन <i>pun</i>	शपसाफल्ये	[पुन <i>pun</i> ^u], पुन्यौव् <i>punyaṇv</i>	come true (of a curse).
क	घन्द <i>pōnd</i>	क्षुते	घन्दुन् <i>pondun</i> , घञ्जौन् <i>pōñjyaun</i>	sneeze.
	घल <i>pōl</i>	नैबल्ये	घल्यौव् <i>pōlyauv</i>	be weak.
क	पुश्र <i>puṣhr</i>	खर्पणे	पुश्रन् <i>puṣhrun</i> , पुश्र्यौन् <i>puṣhryauṇ</i>	* make over (to any one).
क	पुश्राव <i>puṣhrāv</i>	च	पुश्रावुन् <i>puṣhrōvun</i> , पुश्रावौन् <i>puṣhrāvyaun</i>	* ditto.
क	पूज <i>pūz</i>	पूजायास्	पूजन् <i>pūzun</i> , पूजौन् <i>pūzauṇ</i>	worship.
क	पूटर <i>pūṭhar</i>	खल्लौकरणे	पूटरन् <i>pūṭharun</i> , पूट्यौन् <i>pūṭharyauṇ</i>	make fat.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	पूराव <i>pūḥarav</i>	च	पठरिबुन् <i>pūḥarāvun</i> , पूठराबौन् <i>pūḥarāvyaun</i>	make fat.
क	पूर <i>pūr</i>	पूरणे	पूरन् <i>pūrun</i> , पूर्येन् <i>pūryaun</i>	fill.
	पेड <i>pēḍ</i>	निर्यासि	पेखौव् <i>pēḍyauv</i>	* exude.
क	पेर <i>pair</i>	खलंकरणे	पेरन् <i>pairun</i> , पेर्येन् <i>pairyaun</i>	* adorn.
	पोठ <i>pōṭh</i>	खलीभवने	पोखौव् <i>pōṭhyauv</i>	be fat.
	पोर <i>pōr</i>	पर्याप्तनाईतयोः	पोर्येव् <i>pōryauv</i>	be competent, be dry.
क	पोरव <i>pōrav</i>	बाधने	पोरिबुन् <i>pōravun</i> , पोरबौन् <i>pōravayaun</i>	oppress.
	पोष <i>pōṣ</i>	पर्याप्ततायाम्	पुष <i>pūṣu</i> , पोखौव् <i>pōṣyauv</i>	* be competent, victorious.
	प्रखट <i>prakḥṭ</i>	प्रकटने	प्रखौव् <i>prakḥtyauv</i>	be manifest.
क	प्रजन् <i>prajan</i>	उपलक्षणे	प्रज्जिबुन् <i>prajanun</i> , प्रज्जौन् <i>prajāñaun</i>	recognize.
क	प्रज्जनाव <i>prajānāv</i>	च	प्रज्जोबुन् <i>prajānāvun</i> , प्रज्जनाबौन् <i>prajānāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	[प्रजल <i>prajal</i>	प्रजलने	प्रजल्यौव् <i>prajalyauv</i>	shine.]

प्रन <i>pran</i>	नैसंख्ये	प्रन्यौव् <i>pranyauv</i>	* be clean and white.
प्रय <i>pray</i>	प्रीणने	प्रय् <i>pray</i> ^२ , प्रयौव् <i>prayauv</i>	be pleased.
प्रस <i>pras</i>	प्रसवे	प्याव् <i>pyāv</i>	* be born.
प्राट् <i>prāṭ</i>	खनने	प्राटुन् <i>prāṭun</i> , प्राच्यौन् <i>prācyauv</i>	dig.
प्राण <i>prāṇ</i>	पुराणीभवने	प्राण्यौव् <i>prānyauv</i>	be old.
प्राः <i>prāḥ</i>	समीचणे	[प्राः <i>prāḥ</i> ^२], प्रायौव् <i>prāyauv</i>	* wait.
प्राव् <i>prāv</i>	प्राप्नो	प्रावुन् <i>prāvun</i> , प्रायौन् <i>prāyauv</i>	* obtain.
प्रिण <i>prīṇ</i>	उपालम्भे	प्राणन् <i>prāṇun</i> , प्रिञ्जौन् <i>prīñauv</i>	reproach.
प्रिक् <i>prīṣṭh</i>	दृक्पायाम्	प्राङ्क्नुन् <i>prāṅkṣun</i> , प्रिङ्क्नौन् <i>prīṣṭhaun</i>	* ask.
प्रिङ्ग <i>prīṅz</i>	प्रेरणे	प्राङ्गुन् <i>prāṅgun</i> , प्रिङ्गौन् <i>prīṅzaun</i>	send.
फक् <i>phak</i>	सक्तादिभक्षणे	फङ्कुन् <i>phakun</i>	(?) eat <i>sattū</i> ; (usually) spit out after chewing.
फट् <i>phaṭ</i>	काष्ठभेदाङ्कुरोद्भेदयोर्ज- लनिमज्जनादियु च	फट् <i>phaṭ</i> ^२ , फच्यौव् <i>phacyauv</i>	split (of wood) (neut.) sprout (of a plant), sink into water.
फव <i>phab</i>	प्रशस्तीभवने	फच्यौव् <i>phabyauv</i>	be excellent.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	फर <i>phar</i>	स्तेये	फब् <i>phar^{ab}</i> , फर्द्येव् <i>pharyauv</i>	be stolen, be a cause of loss to.
	फर्काव् <i>pharkāv</i>	चर्धोपसर्जने	फर्कोविन् <i>pharkōvin</i> , फर्काब्येन् <i>pharkābyaun</i>	enquire into the meaning, enquire.
	फल <i>phal</i>	वस्त्रजीर्णने साफल्यविभागयोश्च	फल् <i>phal^{lu}</i> , फब्ब्येव् <i>phaiyyauv</i>	* become old (of clothes), bear fruit, be divided.
	फस <i>phas</i>	बद्धीभवने	फस् <i>phas^{as}</i> , फस्येव् <i>phasauv</i>	be entangled, caught.
क	फस् <i>phas^{as}</i>	बद्धीकरणे	फस्स् <i>phas^{as}run</i> , फस्स्येन् <i>phas^{as}ryaun</i>	entangle, catch in anything.
क	फास् <i>phās^{as}</i>	च	फास्स् <i>phās^{as}run</i> , फास्स्येन् <i>phās^{as}ryaun</i>	ditto.
क	फास्राव <i>phās^{as}rāv</i>	च	फास्रोविन् <i>phās^{as}rōvin</i> , फास्राब्येन् <i>phās^{as}rābyaun</i>	ditto.
	फह्र <i>phahar</i>	पात्थ्ये	फह्र्येव् <i>phaharyauv</i>	be hard.
भा	फांग <i>phāṅg</i>	शिशुमाज्जीरोदने	फांगुन् <i>phāṅgun</i> , फाब्ब्येन् <i>phāṅbyaun</i>	cry (of children), mew.
क	फान <i>phān</i>	निःशेषीकरणे	फोनुन् <i>phōnun</i> , फाज्जेन् <i>phājjaun</i>	carry away totally.

क	फाँफल <i>phāṇṭphal</i>	क्रियायोगीभवने	फाँफल्यौव् <i>phāṇṭphalyauv</i>	be fit for any work.
क	फालव <i>phālav</i>	काष्ठभेदने	फालवुन् <i>phālavun</i> , फाल्यौन् <i>phālavyaun</i>	split (wood) (act.)
क	फिच् <i>phāts</i>	विकारणे	फिचौव् <i>phātsauv</i> [फिचौव् <i>phātsyaun</i>]	forget.
क	फाचव <i>phātsav</i>	अप्रत्यक्षद्वारे	फाचवुन् <i>phātsavun</i> , फाच्यौन् <i>phātsavyaun</i>	take secretly.
क	फिर <i>phār</i>	उल्लङ्घनमात्राणां परिवर्तने	फारुन् <i>phāyurun</i> , फिचौन् <i>phāryaun</i>	*turn over (pages), call to memory, pour from one vessel to another.
क	फिरव <i>phārav</i>	धामणे	फिरवुन् <i>phāravun</i> , फिर्यौन् <i>phāryaun</i>	cause to go round.
क	फयण <i>phāyag</i>	चोष्ठादिलेहने	फारुन् <i>phāyagun</i> , फार्यौन् <i>phāryaun</i>	lick the lips or the like.
क	फेण <i>phāṇ</i>	च	फारुन् <i>phāyagun</i> , फेर्यौन् <i>phāryaun</i>	lick the lips or the like.
क	फुक <i>phuk</i>	अङ्गारप्रदीपने	फुकुन् <i>phukun</i> , फुचौन् <i>phūcyauun</i>	*blow a fire (with the mouth to make it burn).
क	फुकार <i>phūkār</i>	कोपालापे	फुकोरुन् <i>phukōrun</i> , फुकार्यौन् <i>phukāryaun</i>	speak in anger.
क	फुट <i>phut</i>	भङ्गे	फुट <i>phut</i> ^{१०} , फुचौव् <i>phūcyauv</i>	*be broken.
क	फुटर <i>phut^{१०}r</i>	भङ्गने	फुटरुन् <i>phut^{१०}run</i> , फुटर्यौन् <i>phut^{१०}ryaun</i>	*break.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSERIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	फुट्राव <i>phuṭṛāv</i>	च	फुट्रोवुन् <i>phuṭrōvun</i> फुट्राबौन् <i>phuṭṛā- vyaun</i>	*break.
भा	फ्रल्ल <i>phöll</i>	विकसने	फ्रल्लो <i>phollō</i> फ्रल्लौव् <i>phöllōv</i>	*expand (of a flower).
	फुग <i>phuḡ</i>	खनाःकोपे	फुगौव् <i>phuḡvauv</i>	be inwardly angry.
	फुह <i>phuḥ</i>	च	फुहौव् <i>phuḥvauv</i>	ditto.
क	फूक <i>phūk</i>	खाम्राणे	फूकुन् <i>phūkun</i> , फूचौन् <i>phūcyauv</i>	smell.
	फेर <i>phēr</i>	अमणविखीभवनपखात्ताप- वैलीत्येषु	फेरू <i>phyrū</i> , फेरौव् <i>phēryauv</i>	*go round, rot, regret, be inverted.
	फोर <i>phōr</i>	स्फुरणे	[फूरू <i>phūrū</i>], फोरौव् <i>phōryauv</i>	quiver.
क	फ्यार <i>phyār</i>	रसनिष्कासने	फ्यारुन् <i>phyārūn</i> , फ्यारौन् <i>phyāryauv</i>	strain.
भा	फूक <i>phōrak</i>	उच्छ्वासनिःश्वासयोः	फूकुन् <i>phōrakun</i> , फूचौन् <i>phōracyauv</i>	breath violently, be out of breath.
क	बक <i>bak</i>	भषणे	बकुन् <i>bakun</i> , बचौन् <i>bacyauv</i>	bark, growl, speak angrily.
क	बगार <i>bagār</i>	झलणे	बगोरुन् <i>bagōrun</i> , बगारौन् <i>bagāryauv</i>	fry in oil, &c.

क	बच <i>bac</i>	खनाहततायाम्	बचौव् <i>bacyauv</i>	*escape.
क	बचराव् <i>bac^{ar}rāv</i>	भयादिरक्षणे	बचरोवुन् <i>bac^{ar}rōvun</i> , बचरायौन् <i>bac^{ar}rā-</i> <i>vyau</i>	protect.
क	बज् <i>baz</i>	सेवायां सेवने च	बजुन् <i>bazun</i> , बजौन् <i>bazaun</i>	*serve, fry in oil, &c.
क	बड <i>baḍ</i>	गतिष्टब्धोः	बचौव् <i>bacyauv</i>	*go, be great.
क	बडाव <i>baḍāv</i>	गतिशसनयोः	बडोवुन् <i>baḍōvun</i> , बडायौन् <i>baḍāvyau</i>	*go, (neut.) quell, (act.) extinguish.
क	बडर <i>baḍar</i>	वर्धने	बडरन् <i>baḍarun</i> , बड्यौन् <i>baḍ^{ar}vyau</i>	cause to be great, in- crease.
क	बडराव <i>baḍarāv</i>	च	बडरोवुन् <i>baḍ^{ar}rōvun</i> , बडरायौन् <i>baḍ^{ar}rāvyau</i>	*ditto.
क	बडूराव <i>baḍūrāv</i>	पुपाङ्गरपाके	बडूरोवुन् <i>baḍ^{ur}rōvun</i> , बडूरायौन् <i>baḍ^{ur}rā-</i> <i>vyau</i>	bake bread.
	बन <i>ban</i>	भवने	बन्यौव् <i>banyauv</i>	*be.
क	बङ्गर <i>baṅz^{ar}</i>	विभाजने	बङ्गरन् <i>baṅz^{ar}run</i> , बङ्ग्यौन् <i>baṅz^{ar}vyau</i>	*divide, [sell cheaply.]
क	बङ्गराव <i>baṅz^{ar}rāv</i>	च	बङ्गरोवुन् <i>baṅz^{ar}rōvun</i> , बङ्गरायौन् <i>baṅz^{ar}rā-</i> <i>vyau</i>	ditto.
क	बर <i>bar</i>	पूरणे वियोगदैत्ये च	बरन् <i>barun</i> , बर्यौन् <i>baryau</i>	*fill, pine in absence.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	बर्काव् <i>bar-kāv</i>	बर्कोवुन् <i>bar-kōvun</i> , बर्क्यौन् <i>bar-kāryaun</i>	cause to fall.
	बल <i>bal</i>	बल्यौव् <i>bal-yauv</i>	*be convalescent, live.
क	बल् <i>bal</i>	बल्सुन् <i>bal-sun</i> , बल्स्यौन् <i>bal-sāryaun</i>	cure.
क	बल्राव <i>bal-rāv</i>	बल्रोवुन् <i>bal-rōvun</i> , बल्राय्यौन् <i>bal-rāryaun</i>	ditto.
	बस <i>bas</i>	बसु <i>bas</i> , बस्यौव् <i>bas-yauv</i>	* dwell.
	बसन <i>basan</i>	बस्यौव् <i>basanyauv</i>	be yellow.
	बहर <i>bahar</i>	बह्यौव् <i>baharyauv</i>	be brave.
	बाखन <i>bākhan</i>	बाखन्यौव् <i>bākhanyauv</i>	be mistaken.
क	बाग्र <i>bāgar</i>	बाग्सुन् <i>bāg-sun</i> , बाग्यौन् <i>bāg-ryaun</i>	* divide.
क	बाज्र <i>bājra</i>	बाज्रसुन् <i>bājra-sun</i> , बाज्र्यौन् <i>bājra-ryaun</i>	ditto.
क	बाग्राव <i>bāgarāv</i>	बाग्रोवुन् <i>bāg-rōvun</i> , बाग्राय्यौन् <i>bāg-rāryaun</i>	ditto.
क	बाज्राव <i>bājraāv</i>	बाज्रोवुन् <i>bāj-rōvun</i> , बाज्राय्यौन् <i>bāj-rāryaun</i>	ditto.

क	बाद <i>bād</i> [बाद <i>brād</i>] बाँबर <i>bābar</i> बाव <i>bāv</i> बावज <i>bāwaz</i> बाष <i>bāṣ</i> बास <i>bās</i> बिगर <i>bigar</i> ब्यज़ <i>bēṣar</i> ब्यज़ाव <i>bēṣarāv</i> ब्यन्न <i>byann</i> बिय <i>biy</i> ब्यह <i>byah</i> बुद्ध <i>buch</i>	प्रबलीभवन लरायाम् अभिप्रायाविष्करणे देवार्पणे च रोचने उच्चारणे भासने विकारे विवरणे भिन्नैकरणे च च भिन्नैभवन पर्युषिते उपवेशने दंशन्निपायाम्	बाद्यौव् <i>bādyauv</i> , [बाद्यौव् <i>bādyauv</i>] बाँबद्यौव् <i>bābadyauv</i> बोवुन् <i>bōvun</i> , बाद्यौन् <i>bādyauv</i> बाव्यौव् <i>bāwazyauv</i> बोवुन् <i>bōsun</i> , बाद्यौन् <i>bāsyauv</i> [बासु <i>bōs*</i>], बास्यौव् <i>bāsyauv</i> , बासौव् <i>bāsauv</i> बियद्यौव् <i>bigaryauv</i> ब्यज़रुन् <i>bēṣarun</i> , ब्यज़र्यौन् <i>bēṣaryauv</i> ब्यज़रोवुन् <i>bēṣarōvun</i> , ब्यज़राद्यौन् <i>bēṣarādyauv</i> ब्यस्यौव् <i>bēṣnyauv</i> बिय्यौव् <i>biyyauv</i> ब्यूठ <i>byūṭh*</i> , ब्यूठौव् <i>bēchyanv</i> (sic) बुद्धुन् <i>buchun</i> , बुद्यौन् <i>buchyauv</i>	be powerful. be quick. * shew, declare one's intentions, devote to God. be preferred (usually food). speak. become clear, evident. be spoiled. open, separate (act.) ditto. be separate. be stale. * sit. * bite.
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* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	बुज् <i>buz</i>	भजने	बुजन् <i>buzan</i>	* parch (grain).
	ब्बड् <i>bōḍ</i>	निसज्जने	ब्बड् <i>boḍ</i> , ब्बड्यौव् <i>bōḍyauv</i>	* dive, sink.
	बुड् <i>buḍ</i>	स्थविरौभवने	बुड्यौव् <i>budyauv</i>	* be old.
	ब्बव् <i>bōv</i>	उत्पत्तौ	ब्बव् <i>bov</i> , ब्बव्यौव् <i>bōvyauv</i>	* be born, grow.
क	बग् <i>būg</i>	भोगे	बगन् <i>būgan</i> , बूच्यौव् <i>būjyauv</i>	enjoy.
क	बेक् <i>bēch</i>	भिन्नायास्	ब्यूक् <i>byūchun</i> , बेच्यौव् <i>bēchyaun</i>	beg.
	बोज् <i>bōz</i>	निशासने	बुजन् <i>būzun</i> , बोच्यौव् <i>bōjyauv</i>	* hear.
	बोल <i>bōl</i>	पक्षिशब्दे	बलुन् <i>būlan</i> , बोच्यौव् <i>bōjyauv</i>	sing, speak (of birds).
क	ब्रक् <i>braḥ</i>	दंष्ट्राघातकोपयोः	ब्रङ्गन् <i>braḥun</i> , ब्रच्यौव् <i>bracyauv</i>	clench with the teeth, be angry.
	ब्रज् <i>braz</i>	दीप्तौ	ब्रज्यौव् <i>brazyauv</i>	shine.
	ब्रम <i>bram</i>	धानौ	ब्रम्यौव् <i>bramyauv</i>	go round in circles.
क	ब्रमर् <i>bram^{er}</i>	बुद्धिहरणे	ब्रमरन् <i>bram^{er}un</i> , ब्रम्यौव् <i>bram^{er}yauv</i>	mislead.
क	ब्रमर्ताव् <i>bram^{er}tāv</i>	च	ब्रमरीवन् <i>bram^{er}ōvun</i> , ब्रमराव्यौव् <i>bram^{er}ōvyauv</i>	* mislead.

क	ब्रश्न् <i>brāç</i>	च	ब्रश्न् <i>brāçun</i> , ब्रश्थोन् <i>brāçthun</i>	clench with the teeth, (not to be angry).
क	ब्रिष् <i>brīṣh</i>	परिदेवने	ब्रिष्न् <i>brīṣhṭhun</i> , ब्रिष्थोन् <i>brīṣhṭhun</i>	lament.
क	ब्रेठ <i>brēṭh</i>	भूखीभवने	ब्रेथोन् <i>brēṭhyauw</i>	be a fool.
क	मङ्ग <i>maṅg</i>	शाचने	मङ्गुन् <i>maṅgun</i> , मङ्गोन् <i>maṅgyauw</i>	* ask.
क	मचुराव <i>maṭṣorāv</i>	उन्मादने	मचुरोवुन् <i>maṭṣorōun</i> , मचुराथोन् <i>maṭṣorā-vyauw</i>	* delude.
क	मठार <i>maṭhār</i>	समीकरणे सान्त्वने च	मठोरन् <i>maṭhōrun</i> , मठोर्योन् <i>maṭhōryauw</i>	make level, calm, console.
क	मण्ड <i>maṇḍ</i>	वस्त्रमर्दनलंकरणयोः	मण्डुन् <i>maṇḍun</i> , मण्डोन् <i>maṇḍyauw</i>	* knead clothes in water to soften and clean them, adorn.
क	मत <i>mat</i>	उन्मादे	मत्थोन् <i>matyauw</i>	* be mad, foolish.
क	मथ <i>math</i>	मर्दने	मथुन् <i>mathun</i> , मथोन् <i>mathun</i>	* pound, beat, churn.
क	मनव <i>manav</i>	कौपापनयने	मनवुन् <i>manavun</i> , मनथोन् <i>manavyauw</i>	calm an angry person.
क	मङ्गुर <i>maṅsur</i>	विकलीकरणे	मङ्गुरन् <i>maṅsurun</i> , मङ्गुर्योन् <i>maṅsoryauw</i>	make imperfect, diminish.
क	मङ्गुराव <i>maṅsurāv</i>	च	मङ्गुरोवुन् <i>maṅsorōun</i> , मङ्गुराथोन् <i>maṅsorā-vyauw</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

Root.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	मन्द	मन्दुन् <i>mandun</i> , मङ्गौन् <i>manzaun</i>	churn.
	मन्दच्छ	मन्दच्छौव् <i>mandachyauv</i>	* be ashamed.
	ममल	ममल्यौव् <i>mamalyauv</i>	* be asleep (of a limb).
क	मर	मृदु (संघापने मरन्) <i>mūd^u</i> , die, (<i>marun</i> , unite), मयौव् <i>mōyauv</i>	die, unite, join together.
	मर्च	मर्चौव् <i>marṭsauv</i>	be inwardly wrathful.
क	मर्द	मर्दौव् <i>marḍōvun</i> , मर्दौव्यौन् <i>marḍāvyauv</i>	rub a boil or pimple.
क	मल	मलुन् <i>maḷun</i> , मज्यौन् <i>majyauv</i>	* rub, shampoo.
	मष	मठ् <i>maṭh^u</i> , मच्छौव् <i>machyauv</i>	* forget.
क	मष	मषरन् <i>maṣṣṛun</i> , मष्यौन् <i>maṣṣyauv</i>	cause to forget.
क	मषर	मषरोवुन् <i>maṣṣōvun</i> , मषर्यौन् <i>maṣṣāryauv</i>	ditto.
क	महार	महोरन् <i>mahōrun</i> , मह्यौन् <i>mahāryauv</i>	crumble (act.)
क	माज	मोजुन् <i>mōzun</i> , माजौन् <i>māzaun</i>	be intent upon, make clean.

क	सख्राव <i>māṅṅarāv</i>	खीकारकारणे	साख्रोवुन् <i>māṅṅarvun</i> , साख्राखीन् <i>māṅṅarvā- vyaun</i>	cause to confess.
क	सांज <i>māṅj</i>	धातुनिर्मलीकरणे	सांजुन् <i>māṅjun</i> , सांज्योन् <i>māṅjyaun</i>	clean metals, &c.
क	सांड <i>māṅḍ</i>	भित्रीकरणे	सांडुन् <i>māḍun</i> , सांज्योन् <i>māṅjyaun</i>	*mingle (act.), knead.
क	सान <i>mān</i>	खीकारणे	सानुन् <i>mānun</i> , साजीन् <i>māṅjan</i>	*admit, confess.
क	सार <i>mār</i>	भारणे	सोरुन् <i>mōrun</i> , सार्थोन् <i>māryaun</i>	*kill.
क	मिलव <i>mīlav</i>	संयोजने	मिलवुन् <i>mīlavun</i> , मिल्योन् <i>mīlavyaun</i>	*mix, unite.
क	मिलनाव <i>mīlanāv</i>	च	मिलनोवुन् <i>mīlanōvun</i> , मिलनाखीन् <i>mīlanā- vyaun</i>	*ditto.
	मकल <i>mōkal</i>	सुत्तौ	मकख्यौव् <i>mōkalyauv</i>	*be released.
	म्वच् <i>mōṭṣ</i>	अवशेषे	म्वच् <i>mōṭṣ</i> , [म्वत् <i>mōṭ</i>], म्वचौव् <i>mōṭṣauv</i>	remain over and above.
क	सुचर <i>mutsar</i>	उद्घाटने	सुचरुन् <i>mutsarun</i> , सुचर्योन् <i>mutsaryauv</i>	*open (act.), disclose.
क	सुचराव <i>mutsarāv</i>	च	सुचरोवुन् <i>mutsarōvun</i> , सुचराखीन् <i>mutsarā- vyaun</i>	*ditto.
क	सुक् <i>much</i>	व्रतादित्यागो	सुहुन् <i>muchun</i> , सुखीन् <i>muchyaun</i>	complete a vow.
	म्वट <i>mōṭ</i>	ख्यौलीभवने	म्वधौव् <i>mōṭyauv</i>	be fat.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	स्वट् <i>mōṭar</i>	स्थलीकरणे	स्वट्स्वन् <i>mōṭarun</i> , स्वट्थोन् <i>mōṭaryan</i>	make fat, make thick (by boiling).
	स्वट्वाव <i>mōṭarāv</i>	च	स्वट्ठोवुन् <i>mōṭarōvun</i> , स्वट्ठावौन् <i>mōṭarāvyan</i>	ditto.
	स्वण्ड <i>mōṇḍ</i>	कुण्डीभवने	स्वण्णोव् <i>mōṇḍyauv</i>	
क	स्वण्डस्व <i>mōṇḍar</i>	कुण्डीकरणे	स्वण्डस्वन् <i>mōṇḍarun</i> , स्वण्ड्थोन् <i>mōṇḍaryan</i>	be blunt, dulled, weak.
	स्वण्डस्वाव <i>mōṇḍarāv</i>	च	स्वण्ड्ठोवुन् <i>mōṇḍarōvun</i> , स्वण्ड्ठावौन् <i>mōṇḍarāvyan</i>	causal of preceding. ditto.
	स्वट्ठस्व <i>mōṭḍar</i>	मधुरीभवने	स्वट्ठोव् <i>mōṭḍaryauv</i>	* be sweet.
क	स्वट्ठस्व <i>mōṭḍarāv</i>	मधुरीकरणे	स्वट्ठस्वन् <i>mōṭḍarun</i> , स्वट्ठावौन् <i>mōṭḍaryan</i>	* make sweet.
क	सुन <i>mun</i>	धान्यखण्डने	सुनुन् <i>munun</i> , सुजौन् <i>munāun</i>	pound (rice).
क	स्वलव <i>mōlav</i>	मूलनिश्चयीकरणे	स्वलवुन् <i>mōlavun</i> , स्वलयौन् <i>mōlavyan</i>	settle a price of a thing.
क	सुष <i>muṣ</i>	मोषणे	सुषुन् <i>muṣun</i> , सुषौन् <i>muṣyan</i>	steal.
क	सुस <i>mus</i>	चसम्यग्भक्षणे	सुसुन् <i>musun</i> , सुसौन् <i>musyan</i> or सुषौन् <i>musāun</i>	eat improperly.

क	सुसर <i>musar</i>	उद्घाटने	सुसरन् <i>musarun</i> , सुसयौन् <i>musaryauṇ</i>	open.
क	सुसराव <i>musarāv</i>	च	सुसरोवुन् <i>musarōvun</i> , सुसरायौन् <i>musarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	सुह <i>muh</i>	मोहने	सुहुन् <i>muhun</i> , सुखौन् <i>muḥyaun</i> , [सुखौन् <i>mukhyaun</i>]	deceive.
भा	सुहृक् <i>mūntshar</i>	समौक्षण	सुहृक्करोन् <i>mūntsharun</i> , सुहृक्यौन् <i>mūntsharīyaun</i>	wait.
भा	सुहृक्काव <i>mūntsharāv</i>	च	सुहृक्करोवुन् <i>mūntsharōvun</i> , सुहृक्करायौन् <i>mūntsharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	सूँच <i>mūtr</i>	सन्तायत्ती [करणे] भवने	सूँचुन् <i>mūtrun</i> , सूँच्यौन् <i>mūtryauṇ</i>	be subject to a charm.
क	सूँचाव <i>mūtrāv</i>	सन्तायत्तीकरणे	सूँचोवुन् <i>mūtrōvun</i> , सूँचायौन् <i>mūtrāvyaun</i>	make subject to a charm.
क	सूर <i>mūr</i>	लचो निष्कृष भक्षणे च	सूरन् <i>mūrun</i> , सूर्यौन् <i>mūryauṇ</i>	shell (peas, &c.), eat.
	मेठ <i>mēṭh</i>	सधुरीभवने	मेथौव् <i>mēṭhyaav</i>	* be sweet.
क	मेन <i>mēn</i>	सापने	म्युनुन् <i>myūnun</i> , मेजौन् <i>mēñauṇ</i>	* measure.
क	मेल <i>mēl</i>	संगमे	म्युल् <i>myūl</i> , मेज्यौव् <i>mējyaav</i>	* meet.
	मोर <i>mōr</i>	शमे	मोर्यौव् <i>mōryauv</i>	be calmed.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	मीरव <i>mīrav</i>	पीडासहने	मीरवुन् <i>mīravun</i> , मीरबोन् <i>mīravyaun</i>	bear pain (only used in fem.).
क	यत्र <i>yatr</i>	शक्नो	यत्रुन् <i>yatrun</i> , यत्र्योन् <i>yatryaun</i>	be able.
क	यत्राव <i>yatraāv</i>	च	यत्रोवुन् <i>yatraōvun</i> , यत्रावोन् <i>yatraōvyaun</i>	ditto.
	याप <i>yāp</i>	आप्नो	याप्योन् <i>yāpyaun</i>	pervade.
क	यार <i>yār</i>	संखाने	योवुन् <i>yōrun</i> , यार्योन् <i>yāryaun</i>	calculate.
	चि <i>yi</i>	आगमे	आव् <i>āv</i>	* come.
क	येर <i>yēr</i>	तन्नुसंताने	यूरुन् <i>yūrun</i> , येर्योन् <i>yēryaun</i>	* arrange thread for weaving.
क	रङ्ग <i>raṅg</i>	रञ्जने	रङ्गुन् <i>raṅgun</i> , रङ्गोन् <i>raṅgyaun</i>	* colour (act.), dye.
क	रक् <i>racḥ</i>	रक्षायास्	रकुन् <i>rachun</i> , रक्योन् <i>rachyaun</i>	* protect.
क	रक्त् <i>ratṣḥar</i>	सम्यक्संस्करणे	रक्त्तुन् <i>ratṣḥarun</i> , रक्त्त्योन् <i>ratṣḥaryaun</i>	put in complete order.
क	रक्त्ताव <i>ratṣḥarāv</i>	च	रक्त्तोवुन् <i>ratṣḥarōvun</i> , रक्त्तावोन् <i>ratṣḥarōvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	रट <i>rat</i>	ग्रहणे	रटुन् <i>ratun</i> , रट्योन् <i>ratyaun</i>	* take.

क	रन <i>ran</i>	पाके	रनुन् <i>ranun</i> , रबौन् <i>rañau</i>	* cook.
	रञ्ज <i>rans</i>	प्रौतौ रागे च	रञ्जौव् <i>ranzyauv</i>	be pleased, show love to.
क	रञ्जव <i>ranzav</i>	प्रौषने	रञ्जुवुन् <i>ranzarun</i> , रञ्जुबौन् <i>ranzavyau</i>	gratify.
क	रञ्जनाव <i>ranzanāv</i>	च	रञ्जनीवुन् <i>ranzanōvun</i> , रञ्जनीबौन् <i>ranzanāvyau</i>	ditto.
	रम्ब <i>ramb</i>	शोभायाम्	रम्बौव् <i>rambyauv</i>	be beautiful.
	रस <i>ras</i>	सरसीभवने	रस्यौव् <i>rasyauv</i>	be full of juice.
	राव <i>rāv</i>	नष्टीभवने	रोब् <i>rōv</i> , राबौव् <i>rāvyauv</i>	* be lost.
क	रावर <i>rāvar</i>	नष्टीकरणे	रावरुन् <i>rāvarun</i> , रावरौन् <i>rāvarāv</i>	* lose.
क	रावराव <i>rāvarāv</i>	च	रावरोवुन् <i>rāvarōvun</i> , रावराबौन् <i>rāvarāvvyau</i>	ditto.
	रिञ्जव <i>rinzav</i>	इद्गगतौ	रिञ्जुवुन् <i>rinzavun</i> , रिञ्जुबौन् <i>rinzavyau</i>	escape secretly.
क	रिव <i>riv</i>	अलंकरणतयतायाम्	र्युवुन् <i>ryuvun</i> , र्यौन् <i>ryiau</i>	be intent on adorning oneself [lament].
क	रव <i>ruv</i>	रोपणे	रवुन् <i>ruvun</i> , रबौन् <i>ruvyau</i>	plant (act.).
	रोच् <i>rōts</i>	रोचने	रूच् <i>rūts</i> , रोचौव् <i>rōtsyauv</i>	be preferred.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
रोज् <i>rōḥ</i>	स्थितौ	रूढ् <i>rūḍh</i> , रोजीव् <i>rōḥauv</i>	* stop, stand.
रोट् <i>rōṭ</i>	अवष्टम्भे	रूट् <i>rūṭh</i> , रोजीव् <i>rōḥauv</i> , [रोज्यीव् <i>rōjyauv</i>]	be stopped.
रोष् <i>rōṣ</i>	रुष्टौ	रूष् <i>rūṣh</i> , रोजीव् <i>rōḥauv</i>	* be angry.
रक्त्वाव <i>rakṭhauv</i>	भूसंगानयने	रक्त्वुन् <i>rakṭvun</i> , रक्थीन् <i>rakṭhyauv</i>	drag along the ground.
रुड् <i>rūḍ</i>	रूढीभवने	रूथीव् <i>rūṭhyauv</i>	persistently follow.
रुत् <i>rūṭ</i>	साध्वीभवने	रुथीव् <i>rūṭhyauv</i>	be good.
रुष् <i>rūṣ</i>	जीर्णीभवने	रुथीव् <i>rūṣhyauv</i>	be worn out.
रुस् <i>rūs</i>	गमने	रुसुन् <i>rūsun</i> , रुसीन् <i>rūsauv</i>	go.
लख् <i>lakḥ</i>	अन्ननयने	लखुन् <i>lakḥun</i> , लखीन् <i>lakṭhyauv</i>	bring inside.
लग् <i>lag</i>	सङ्गे पीडार्यां सामञ्जस्ये च	लग् <i>lag</i> , लज्यीव् <i>lagyauv</i>	* be with, suffer pain, fit.
लङ्ग <i>laṅg</i>	पङ्क्तिभवने	लङ्गुन् <i>laṅgun</i> , लङ्गीन् <i>laṅgyauv</i>	be lame.
लज् <i>laz</i>	योग्यतायासु	लज्जीव् <i>lazauv</i>	be suitable.
लटाव् <i>latāv</i>	गमने	लटोवुन् <i>latōvun</i> , लटायीन् <i>latāvyauv</i>	go.

क	लड <i>lad</i>	युद्धे	लडुन् <i>ladun</i> , लब्धौन् <i>lagyaun</i>	fight.
क	लडाव <i>ladāv</i>	संप्रहारणे	लडोवुन् <i>ladōvun</i> , लडाव्यौन् <i>ladāvyaun</i>	use in fight.
क	लतव <i>latav</i>	लताघाते	लतवुन् <i>latavun</i> , लतव्यौन् <i>latavyaun</i>	kick.
क	लतार <i>latār</i>	अधिलेपे	लतोषन् <i>latōṣun</i> , लतोष्यौन् <i>latōṣyaun</i>	blame.
क	लद <i>lad</i>	वस्तुप्रेषणे ध्वनिरीकरणयोः सूत्रादि- कर्मणि च	लदुन् <i>ladun</i> , लजौन् <i>lazaun</i>	* send, build, raise, load, wind up string.
क	लब <i>lab</i>	प्राप्तौ	लबुन् <i>labun</i> , लब्यौन् <i>labyaun</i>	* find, get.
क	लम <i>lam</i>	आकर्षणे	लमुन् <i>lamun</i> , लम्यौन् <i>lamyauun</i>	* drag.
	लय <i>lay</i>	अर्घणे	लैयु <i>lay^u</i> , लय्यौव् <i>layyauv</i>	be worth.
क	ललव <i>lalav</i>	अङ्कपालने	ललवुन् <i>lalavun</i> , ललव्यौन् <i>lalavyaun</i>	* take to ones breast, protect.
	लस <i>las</i>	सम्यग्जीवने	ललसु <i>lās^u</i> , लास्यौव् <i>lāṣyaunv</i>	* live long.
	लहन <i>lahan</i>	नाडीश्रितिलीभवने	लहन्यौव् <i>lahanyauv</i>	have a weak pulse.
क	लाग <i>lāg</i>	अनुकरणधारणद्वय- संपर्चनैषु	लोगुन् <i>lōgun</i> , लाज्यौन् <i>lājyaun</i>	* imitate, place, culti- vate, unite.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	लाय <i>lāy</i>	आघाते प्रचेये च	लौयुन् <i>lōyun</i> , लायौन् <i>lāyauṇ</i>	* strike, throw to a distance.
क	लार <i>lār</i>	स्यार्शुगमनसिग्धीकरणेषु	लोरुन् <i>lorun</i> , लार्यौन् <i>lāryauṇ</i>	* touch, follow, polish.
क	लिख <i>likh</i>	लेखने	लुखुन् <i>lyukhan</i> , लिख्यौन् <i>lichyauṇ</i>	* write.
	ल्यच् <i>lyats</i>	निर्वलीभवने	ल्यचौव् <i>lyatsauv</i>	be weak.
क	लिथव <i>liṭhav</i>	मर्दने	लिथवुन् <i>liṭhavun</i> , लिथ्यौन् <i>liṭhavyauṇ</i>	rub or drag about in the dust or in dirt.
	ल्यड <i>lyad</i>	पराजयीभवने	ल्यडौव् <i>lēḍyauv</i>	be conquered.
	ल्यडूर <i>lyadūr</i>	पीतीभवने	ल्यडूर्यौव् <i>lēḍūryauv</i>	be yellow.
क	ल्यडूराव <i>lyadūrāv</i>	पीतीकरणे	ल्यडूरोवुन् <i>lyadūrōvun</i> , ल्यडूर्यौन् <i>lyadūrēryauṇ</i>	make yellow.
क	लिव <i>liv</i>	लेपने	ल्यवुन् <i>lyavun</i> , लिख्यौन् <i>lichyauṇ</i>	plaster.
क	ल्यव <i>lyav</i>	लेचने	ल्यवुन् <i>lyavun</i> , ल्ययौन् <i>lēvyauṇ</i>	* lick.
	लिस <i>lis</i>	प्रसन्नतायाम्	लिस्यौव् <i>lisyauv</i>	be pleased.
	ल्यत <i>lōt</i>	लाघवे	ल्यत्यौव् <i>lōtyauv</i>	* be light.

क	स्वल् लोल	उपक्रोडायाम्	स्वल् लु लोल, स्वञ्चोन् लोयान्	play with a customer (i.e., to refuse to sell a thing at first in order to get a better price).
क	लूक्राव लूकराव	लुद्रीकरणे	लूक्रोवुन् लूकरावोन् लूकराव्यान्	make small.
क	लूट लूट	लुष्टणे	लूटुन् लूटुन्, लूचोन् लूच्यान्	*plunder.
क	लूब लूब	लोभने	लूचोव् लूच्याव	be desirous.
क	लूर लूर	विनष्टीकरणे निपातने च	लूरुन् लूरुन्, लूयोन् लूर्यान्	destroy, knock down.
क	लेख लेख	लेखने	लूखुन् लूखुन्, लेखोन् लेख्यान्	write.
क	लोक लोक	लुद्रीभवने	लोकोव् लोच्याव	*be small.
क	लोन् लोन्	लवने	लूनुन् लूनुन्, लोचोन् लोच्यान्	*reap.
	ल्वन् लोन् इति केचित्			
	लोस लोस	श्रमे	लूस् लूस्, लोचोव् लोच्याव	*be weary.
	लोर लोर	वैकल्ये	लोचोव् लोच्याव	become deficient.
	लूय लूय	सम्यक्पर्याप्तौ	लूचोव् लूच्याव	be sufficient.
	लूह लूह	सम्यक्पर्याप्तौ	लूचोव् लूच्याव	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

Root.	Sanskrit Meaning.	Past and Aorist.	English Meaning.
लहन् <i>lahan</i>	पाकविकारं	लह्यौव् <i>lahanyauv</i>	delay ripening.
वखन् <i>wakhan</i>	व्याख्यानं	वखनुन् <i>wakhanun</i> , वख्यौन् <i>wakhyāun</i>	lecture.
वज् <i>waj</i>	वाद्यखनं	वजुन् <i>wajan</i> , वज्यौन् <i>wajyāun</i>	* sound (of a musical instrument).
वज्ज <i>wazav</i>	साद्रीकरणे	वज्जुन् <i>wazavun</i> , वज्यौन् <i>wazavyāun</i>	moisten.
वट् <i>vat</i>	वेष्टने	वटुन् <i>vaṭun</i> , वच्यौन् <i>vacyaun</i>	* fold up, shut up.
वड् <i>vaḍ</i>	निक्षेपे	वड् <i>vaḍun</i> , वड्यौन् <i>vaḍyāun</i>	bury.
वड् <i>vaḍ</i>	च	वड् <i>vaḍun</i> , वड्यौन् <i>vaḍyāun</i>	ditto.
वथर <i>wathar</i>	आस्तरणे	वथरुन् <i>watharun</i> , वथ्यौन् <i>watharyāun</i>	spread out.
वथराव <i>watharāv</i>	च	वथरोवुन् <i>watharāvun</i> , वथ्यौन् <i>watharyāun</i>	* ditto.
वट् <i>vaḍ</i>	रीदने	वटुन् <i>vaḍun</i> , वज्यौन् <i>wajyāun</i>	* weep.
वन <i>wan</i>	भाषणे	वनुन् <i>wanun</i> , वज्यौन् <i>wajyāun</i>	* speak, say.
वनव <i>wanav</i>	स्त्रीणां कलनगाने	वनवुन् <i>wanavun</i> , वन्यौन् <i>wanavyāun</i>	sing in chorus (of women).

क	वन्द <i>wand</i>	उपहार	वन्दुन् <i>wāṇḍun</i> , वड्डीन् <i>wāṇḍāun</i>	devote.
	वय <i>way</i>	पथीभवन	वय् वय्यो ^व <i>wayyauv</i>	* be fit to eat, agree with, suit.
क	वर <i>war</i>	वरणे	वरन् <i>wārun</i> , वर्योन् <i>warāun</i>	choose.
क	वल <i>wal</i>	आच्छादने	वल्नुन् <i>wāḷun</i> , वज्जोन् <i>wajāun</i>	* cover, dress oneself.
क	वव <i>wav</i>	वापने	ववुन् <i>wāvun</i> , वव्योन् <i>wavyāun</i>	* sow.
क	वष <i>waṣ</i>	वर्षणे	वषुन् <i>waṣun</i> , वष्योन् <i>waṣyāun</i>	rain.
	वस <i>was</i>	अवरोहणे	वथ् <i>wath^व</i> , वड्डीन् <i>watṣṭhauv</i>	* come down, descend.
	वहार <i>wahār</i>	विसारणे भक्षिकाद्यपवारणे	वहोरन् <i>wahōrun</i> , वहार्योन् <i>wahāryāun</i>	spread out, drive away (flies, &c.).
क	वहाराव <i>wahārāv</i>	च	वहारावुन् <i>wahārāvun</i> , वहारायोन् <i>wahārāyōun</i>	ditto.
भा	वाँच <i>wāṭṣ</i>	वञ्चने	वँचुन् <i>wāṭṣun</i> , वाँचोन् <i>wāṭṣāun</i>	cheat.
क	वाट <i>wāt</i>	संथापने	वोटुन् <i>wōṭun</i> , वाचोन् <i>wācyāun</i>	unite.
	वात <i>wāt</i>	प्रापने	वोतु <i>wōt^व</i> , वाचोव् <i>wācāuv</i>	* arrive.
क	वाम <i>wām</i>	सञ्चिकाद्यपवारणे	वोसुन् <i>wōsun</i> , वाम्योन् <i>wāmyāun</i>	drive away (flies, &c.).

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	वार <i>wār</i>	च	वोरन् <i>wōrun</i> , वर्यीन् <i>wāryaun</i>	drive away (flies, &c.).
भा	वाय <i>wāy</i>	भाने नौकाचालने च	वोयुन् <i>wōyūn</i> , वाय्यौन् <i>wāyyaun</i>	* blow (a musical instrument), row a boat.
क	वाल <i>wāl</i>	अवतारणे दृष्टिपते च	वोलुन् <i>wōlun</i> , वाव्यौन् <i>wōyyaun</i>	cause to descend, fall (of rain).
	विगल <i>vigal</i>	विगलने	विगल्यौव् <i>vigalyauv</i>	melt.
क	विचार <i>viśār</i>	विचारे	विचोरन् <i>viśōrun</i> , विचर्यीन् <i>viśāryaun</i>	consider, decide.
	यच् <i>vyats</i>	संभवे	यच् <i>vyats</i> , यच्यौव् <i>vēṣyauv</i>	* pervade, fit into,
क	यङ्क्न <i>vyatṣhan</i>	विवरणे	यङ्क्नुन् <i>vyatṣhanun</i> , यङ्क्चौन् <i>vyatṣhañun</i>	separate, tease out (wool, &c.).
क	यज्ज् <i>vyazār</i>	ज्ञातीकरणे	यज्ज् <i>vyazārūn</i> , यज्ज्यौन् <i>vyazāryaun</i>	prove.
क	यज्ज् <i>vyazārāv</i>	च	यज्ज् <i>vyazārūn</i> , यज्ज्यौन् <i>vyazāryaun</i>	ditto.
क	यज्ज् <i>vēṣār</i>	शुचकशुचकरणे	यज्ज् <i>vēṣārūn</i> , यज्ज्यौन् <i>vēṣāryaun</i>	separate,
क	यज्ज् <i>vēṣārāv</i>	च	यज्ज् <i>vēṣārūn</i> , यज्ज्यौन् <i>vēṣāryaun</i>	ditto.

क	अथ <i>vyath</i>	खलीभवने	अथौव् <i>vēthyauv</i>	* be fat.
क	अथर् <i>vyathor</i>	खलीकरणे	अथर्बन् <i>vyath^{or}run</i> , अथर्थौन् <i>vēth^{or}ryaun</i>	make fat.
क	अथर्वाव <i>vyath^{or}āv</i>	च	अथर्रोवुन् <i>vyath^{or}rōvun</i> , अथर्वाथौन् <i>vyath^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	अदूर <i>vyad^{or}</i>	अथिल्ये	अदूर्थौव् <i>vēd^{or}ryauv</i>	be loose, slack.
क	अदूर्वाव <i>vyad^{or}āv</i>	अथिलीकरणे	अदूर्रोवुन् <i>vyad^{or}rōvun</i> , अदूर्वाथौन् <i>vyad^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	make loose.
क	अन्द <i>vyand</i>	आचरणे	अन्दुन् <i>vyandun</i> , अङ्गौन् <i>vyanzaun</i>	* serve, revere.
क	अप <i>vyap</i>	संभते	अपौव् <i>vēpyauv</i>	pervade.
क	अप्पर् <i>vyapp^{or}</i>	संभावने	अप्पर्बन् <i>vyapp^{or}run</i> , अप्पर्थौन् <i>vyapp^{or}ryaun</i>	cause to pervade.
क	अप्पर्वाव <i>vyapp^{or}āv</i>	च	अप्पर्रोवुन् <i>vyapp^{or}rōvun</i> , अप्पर्वाथौन् <i>vyapp^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	अलर <i>vyalar</i>	असाख्ये	अलर्थौव् <i>vyalaryauv</i>	go out of order.
क	अव <i>vyav</i>	विकीर्णने	अवुन् <i>vyavun</i> , अवौन् <i>vēvyauun</i>	scatter.
क	अवर् <i>vyav^{or}</i>	विकीर्णने	अवर्बन् <i>vyav^{or}run</i> , अवर्थौन् <i>vēv^{or}ryaun</i>	ditto.
क	अवर्वाव <i>vyav^{or}āv</i>	च	अवर्रोवुन् <i>vyav^{or}rōvun</i> , अवर्वाथौन् <i>vyav^{or}rā- vyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	Root.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	यसर <i>vyasar</i>	विशीर्णने	यस्यौव् <i>vyasaryauv</i>	* be ruined, fade (of a flour.)
	विस <i>vis</i>	प्रसन्नोभवने	विस्यौव् <i>visyauv</i>	be pleased.
	वक् <i>vōk</i>	दोषादिचेष्टायास्	वक्खौव् <i>vōkyaauv</i>	suffer pain from disease.
	वुक् <i>wuk^{or}</i>	वक्त्रोभवने	वुक्क्यौव् <i>wuk^{or}yaauv</i>	be crooked.
क	वुक्त्राव <i>wuk^{or}rāv</i>	वक्त्रोकरणे	वुक्त्रोवुन् <i>wuk^{or}rōvun</i> , वुक्त्रायौन् <i>wuk^{or}rāvyaun</i>	make crooked.
क	व्वखर <i>vōkhar</i>	ऊर्ध्वाधरीकरणे	व्वखरन् <i>vōkharun</i> , व्वखर्यौन् <i>vōkharayaun</i>	turn upside down.
क	व्वखराव <i>vōkharāv</i>	च	व्वखरोवुन् <i>vōkharōvun</i> , व्वखरायौन् <i>vōkharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	[व्वगन <i>wogan</i>	उत्तानोभवने	व्वगन्यौव् <i>vōganyauv</i>	be shallow.]
क	वुग्राव <i>wug^{or}rāv</i>	कणप्रतिग्रहणे	वुगरोवुन् <i>wug^{or}rōvun</i> , वुगरायौन् <i>wug^{or}rāvyaun</i>	recover a debt.
क	वुग् <i>wug</i>	श्रवे	वुग्गुन् <i>wuggun</i> , वुग्गौन् <i>wuñgyaun</i>	bark (of a dog).
	वुत् <i>wuts</i>	दग्धोभवने	वुत्तौव् <i>wutsauv</i> , [वुत्तौव् <i>wutsyaun</i>]	be burnt.

क	बुख <i>wuch</i>	प्रेक्षण	बुखुन् <i>wuchun</i> , बुखौन् <i>wuchyaun</i>	* see
	बुज <i>wuz</i>	जागरणे च	बुजौव् <i>wuzauv</i>	be wide awake; appear (as water from a spring).
	बजल <i>wōzal</i>	रक्तीभवने	बजलौव् <i>wōzalyauv</i>	be red.
	बट <i>wōṭ</i>	रुगती	—	leap [not used as an independent verb].
क	बुठ <i>wuṭh</i>	वेष्टने	बुठुन् <i>wuṭhun</i> , बुठौन् <i>wuchyaun</i>	* twist (a rope, &c.).
	बुड <i>wuḍ</i>	उडुयने	बुडौव् <i>wuḍyauv</i>	* fly.
क	बुडाव <i>wuḍāv</i>	नाशने चालने च	बुडावुन् <i>wuḍāvun</i> , बुडावौन् <i>wuḍāvyaun</i>	destroy, cause to move.
	बतल <i>wōtal</i>	ऊधीभवने	बतलौव् <i>wōtalyauv</i>	rise.
	बथ <i>wōṭh</i>	छानने	बथ <i>wōṭh</i> , बथौव् <i>wōṭhauv</i>	* stand up.
क	बथर <i>wōṭhar</i>	खवमार्जने	बथरुन् <i>wōṭharun</i> , बथरौन् <i>wōṭharyaun</i>	wipe clean.
क	बथराव <i>wōṭharāv</i>	च	बथरौवुन् <i>wōṭharāvun</i> , बथरावौन् <i>wōṭharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	बुद <i>wud</i>	जागरणे	[बुद <i>wud</i>], बुडौव् <i>wuḍyauv</i>	be wide awake.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

Root.	Sanskrit Meaning.	Past and Aorist.	English Meaning.
वुदर <i>wudar</i>	वियोगखेदे	वुदर्यौव् <i>wudaryauv</i>	sorrow in separation.
वुन <i>wun</i>	देवानाजने	वुन्यौव् <i>wunyauv</i>	have bad luck.
वुन्नत <i>wönnat</i>	उन्नतीभावे	वुन्नत्यौव् <i>wönnatyauv</i>	be high.
वुप <i>wup</i>	अन्नदाहे	वुप् <i>wup^{as}</i> , वुप्यौव् <i>wupyauv</i>	burn inside.
वुपज् <i>wöpz</i>	उत्पत्तौ	वुपद् <i>wöpd^{as}</i> , वुपज्यौव् <i>wöpzauv</i>	* be born.
वुफ <i>wuph</i>	विहायसा गतौ	वुफ्यौव् <i>wuphyauv</i>	* fly (of birds only).
वुफर <i>wöphar</i>	शैथिल्ये	वुफरन् <i>wöpharun</i> , वुफर्यौन् <i>wöpharyau</i>	make slack.
वुबर <i>wöbar</i>	समाप्तौ	[वुबरन् <i>wöbarun</i>], वुबर्यौन् <i>wöbaryau</i>	be finished.
वुवस <i>wöbas</i>	वृद्धलीभवने	[वुवसु <i>wöbas^{as}</i>], वुवस्यौव् <i>wöbasauv</i>	increase.
वुम <i>wöm</i>	सीमानधिगमे	वुमु <i>wöm^{as}</i> , वुम्यौव् <i>wömyauv</i>	go on without stopping.
वुय <i>wuy</i>	पर्याप्तौ	वुय्यौव् <i>wuyyauv</i>	arrive.
वुर <i>wur</i>	उक्षपटप्रच्छादननिपातनेषु	वुरन् <i>wurun</i> , वुर्यौन् <i>wuryau</i>	string (a garland, &c.); put on (clothes); let fall into.

क

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क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	उल्लङ्गने	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	pass over.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	अलङ्करणे	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	adorn.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	उल्लसने	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	rejoice.
	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	लौहित्ये	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	be red (of the complexion, from anger, &c.).
	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	उल्लोभने	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	* be hot.
	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	वाङ्मये	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	be much.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	उल्लोभने	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	open.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	च	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	ditto.
	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	अनिवर्त्ति	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	be not extinguished (of fire).
भा	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	शपि	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	* curse.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	तन्वायकर्मणि	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	* weave.
क	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	भषणे विसृज्यालये च	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्, वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	* bark, talk in one's sleep.
	वल्ङ्ग वल्ङ्ग	चक्षुलीभने	वल्ङ्गुन् वल्ङ्गुन्	be fickle.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	वीव् <i>wōv</i>	धातुनां तलणे	ववृण् <i>wōvṛun</i> , वीवीन् <i>wōvīṇ</i>	shave metal.
क	वीव्राव् <i>wōvṛāv</i>	च	वीव्रावुन् <i>wōvṛāvun</i> , वीव्रावौन् <i>wōvṛāvō-</i> <i>nyau</i>	ditto.
क	शैक् <i>ṣāṭh</i>	शङ्कायास्	शैकुन् <i>ṣyāṭkun</i> , शैचौन् <i>ṣāṭcyau</i>	doubt.
क	शम्राव् <i>ṣagṇāv</i>	सङ्गुणीकरणे	शम्रावुन् <i>ṣagṇāvun</i> , शम्रावौन् <i>ṣagṇāvōnyau</i>	divide into six, multiply by six.
	शम <i>ṣam</i>	उपशमे	शम्यौव् <i>ṣamyauv</i>	be quieted.
क	शष् <i>ṣaṣ</i>	सहने	शषुन् <i>ṣaṣun</i> , शषौन् <i>ṣaṣyau</i>	bear.
	शहल <i>ṣahal</i>	शीतीभवने	शहल्यौव् <i>ṣahalalyauv</i>	be cold.
क	शाश् <i>ṣāṣ</i>	उच्छ्वासिःश्वासे	शोशुन् <i>ṣōṣun</i> , शोशौन् <i>ṣōṣyau</i>	breathe.
	[शिग्नौव <i>ṣigṇōv</i>	परिखादिने	शिग्न्यौव् <i>ṣigṇyauv</i>	be jealous of another.]
	शिट <i>ṣāṭh</i>	शीतीभवने	शिख्यौव् <i>ṣiṭhyauv</i>	be congealed.
	श्रिट <i>ṣrīṭh</i>	च	श्रियौव् <i>ṣrīṭhyauv</i>	ditto.
	शङ्ग <i>ṣōṅṅ</i>	शयने	शङ्ग <i>ṣōṅṅ</i> , शङ्गावौव् <i>ṣōṅṅyauv</i>	* lie down, go to sleep.
	शद्ध <i>ṣōddh</i>	शोधने	शद्धौव् <i>ṣōddhyauv</i>	be pure.

क	शुब् <i>ṣub</i>	शोभायाम्	शुब्बोव् <i>ṣubyaav</i>	* be beautiful.
क	शुब् <i>ṣub</i>	शोभने	शुब्बुन् <i>ṣubbarun</i> , शुब्बोन् <i>ṣubbaryaun</i>	make beautiful.
क	शुब्बाव <i>ṣubbarāv</i>	च	शुब्बोवुन् <i>ṣubbarōvun</i> , शुब्बोवोन् <i>ṣubbarō- vyaun</i>	* ditto.
क	शेर <i>ṣēr</i>	संस्करणे	शुब्बुन् <i>ṣyūrun</i> , शोवोन् <i>ṣēryaun</i>	* repair.
क	अप <i>ṣrap</i>	जीर्णने	अप <i>ṣrap</i> , अयोव् <i>ṣrapyaav</i>	* evaporate, be digest- ed, be soaked up.
भा	अक् <i>ṣrak</i>	क्रन्दने	अकुन् <i>ṣrakun</i> , अचोन् <i>ṣracyaun</i>	weep.
क	शुत् <i>ṣrut</i>	शब्दवत्याने	शुत्तुन् <i>ṣrutun</i> , अचोन् <i>ṣrutsaun</i>	drink with a noise.
क	ओव् <i>ṣrōṭs</i>	शुद्धौ	ओचोव् <i>ṣrōṭsyaav</i>	be pure.
क	सखर <i>sakhar</i>	प्रस्थाने	सखर्योव् <i>sakharayaav</i>	prepare to set forth.
क	सगव <i>sagav</i>	हृत्तादिसिद्धने	सगवुन् <i>sagavun</i> , सगवोन् <i>sagavyaun</i>	sprinkle, or water (plants, &c.).
क	सगनाव <i>saganāv</i>	च	सगनोवुन् <i>saganōvun</i> , सगनोवोन् <i>saganōryaun</i>	ditto.
क	सज्ज <i>saññ</i>	अगाधीकरणे	सज्जुन् <i>saññarun</i> , सज्जोन् <i>saññaryaun</i>	make deep (a well, &c.).
क	सज्जाव <i>saññarāv</i>	च	सज्जोवुन् <i>saññarōvun</i> , सज्जोवोन् <i>saññarō- vyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
भा	सताव <i>satāv</i>	बाधने	सतीवुन् <i>satōrun</i> , सताचौन् <i>satāryaun</i>	* persecute.
	सन <i>san</i>	अगाधीभवने	सन्यौव् <i>sanyauv</i>	be deep.
क	सङ्गर <i>saṅgar</i>	सञ्जीकरणे	सङ्गरुन् <i>saṅgarun</i> , सङ्गौव् <i>saṅgaryaun</i>	be ready.
क	सन्दर <i>sandar</i>	संयुञ्जणे	सन्दरुन् <i>sandarun</i> , सन्दौव् <i>sandaryan</i>	kindle.
क	सन्दराव <i>sandarāv</i>	च	सन्दरोवुन् <i>sandarōrun</i> , सन्दराचौन् <i>sandarā-ryaun</i>	ditto.
क	सन्दार <i>sandār</i>	प्राणस्वास्थी	सन्दारुन् <i>sandōrun</i> , सन्दौव् <i>sandāryaun</i>	come to oneself from faint, &c.).
	सपज् <i>sapaz</i>	सिद्धौ	सपज् <i>sapaz</i> ^u , सपजौव् <i>sapazauv</i>	be complete.
	सपद <i>sapad</i>	च	सपदु <i>sapal</i> ^u , सपजौव् <i>sapazauv</i>	* ditto.
	सपन <i>sapan</i>	च	सपनु <i>sapan</i> ^u , सपचौव् <i>sapañauv</i>	ditto.
	सम <i>sam</i>	साथे	सम्यौव् <i>samyauv</i>	* be level, [assemble].
	समख <i>samakh</i>	समचीभवने	समखु <i>samakh</i> ^u , समचौव् <i>samachyauv</i>	* become visible, be seen, meet a person.
क	संबाल <i>sambāl</i>	संस्करणे	संबोलुन् <i>sambōlun</i> , संबाचौन् <i>sambāryaun</i>	* repair.

क	सर <i>sar</i>	स्मरणे	संरुन् <i>sarun</i> , सद्यौन् <i>saryauṇ</i>	remember.
क	सह <i>saḥ</i>	सहनै	संछन् <i>saḥun</i> , सस्यौन् <i>saṣyauṇ</i>	bear, endure.
क	सांगर <i>sāgar</i>	विशरणे	सांगयौव् <i>sāgarayauv</i>	be broken.
क	साद <i>sād</i>	संरादौ	सोदुन् <i>sodun</i> , साजौन् <i>sāzauṇ</i>	accomplish, make perfect.
क	सार <i>sār</i>	सादेकजीभवनक्रमानयनेषु	सोरुन् <i>sōrun</i> , सोर्यौन् <i>sōryauṇ</i>	* feel, be collected, be gradually brought.
क	साव <i>sāv</i>	शायने	सोवुन् <i>sōvun</i> , साव्यौन् <i>sāvyauṇ</i>	* put to sleep.
क	सजर् <i>syazār</i>	कञ्जीकरणे	सजर्नुन् <i>syazārūn</i> , सज्यौन् <i>sējyauṇ</i>	make straight.
क	सजर्वाव <i>syazārāv</i>	च	सजर्नुवुन् <i>syazārōvun</i> , सजर्वाव्यौन् <i>syazārōvryauṇ</i>	ditto.
क	सजर्वाव <i>sēārāv</i>	चट्टहीकरणे	सजर्नुवुन् <i>sēārōvun</i> , सजर्वाव्यौन् <i>sēārōvryauṇ</i>	make soft (as a hard ball of earth with water).
	सद <i>syad</i>	सिद्धजीभवन्तयाः	सद्यौव् <i>sēdyauv</i>	* be successful, be straight.
	सन्दर् <i>syandār</i>	अरणीभवने	सन्द्यौव् <i>sēndārnyauv</i>	change to a red colour.
	सन् <i>syann</i>	अकवशीभवने	सन्द्यौव् <i>sēnnnyauv</i>	become soft.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	सिब <i>siv</i>	सेवने पाकविशेषे च	स्युनु <i>syunū</i> , सिबोन् <i>sivyaun</i>	* serve, stew.
क	सौर <i>sūr</i>	धमणे	सौर्योव् <i>sūryaav</i>	circulate.
क	सुक <i>suk</i>	यमिचारे [बन्नावेशने]	सुकुन् <i>sukun</i> , सुचोन् <i>sucyaun</i>	behave badly [squeeze into].
क	खख <i>sōkhaṣ</i>	सुडने	खखुन् <i>sōkhaṣun</i> , खखोन् <i>sōkhaṣyaun</i>	make happy.
क	खखनाव <i>sōkhanāv</i>	च	खखनोवुन् <i>sōkhanōvun</i> , खखनायोन् <i>sōkhanāyōv-</i> <i>yaun</i>	ditto.
	खग <i>sōg</i>	सृत्यात्मतायाम्	खग्योव् <i>sōgyaav</i>	be cheap.
	खूग <i>srōg</i>	च	खूग्योव् <i>srōgyaav</i>	ditto.
क	खग्राव <i>sōggrāv</i>	सुखलीकरणे	खग्रावुन् <i>sōggrāvun</i> , खग्रायोन् <i>sōggrāyōyaun</i>	fix a fair price, cheapen.
क	खूग्राव <i>srōggrāv</i>	च	खूग्रावुन् <i>srōggrāvun</i> , खूग्रायोन् <i>srōggrāyō-</i> <i>yaun</i>	ditto.
क	खच्राव <i>sōtṣgrāv</i>	शमने	खच्रावुन् <i>sōtṣgrāvun</i> , खच्रायोन् <i>sōtṣgrāyō-</i> <i>yaun</i>	appease, extinguish (a fire, &c.).
	सत <i>sōt</i>	शमने	सत्योव् <i>sōtyaav</i>	be appeased, (be extinguished).

क	सम्बरं sōmbor	समीकरत् समीकरोत् करणयोः	सम्बरुन् sōmborun, सम्बरोय्न् sōmboroyau	* make level, collect.
क	सरं sōr	सारणे	सरुन् sōrun, सरोय्न् sōryau	remember.
क	सुव सुव	सुचौकर्मणि	सुवुन् suvun, सुवोय्न् suvyau	* sew.
क	सुरव सुराव	भाजनसमशुद्धौ	सुरवुन् suravun, सुरवोय्न् suravyau	clean a vessel with ashes.
क	सर्गं sōrḡ	हस्तादिशुद्धौ	सर्गुन् sorḡun, सर्गोय्न् sōryau	clean the hands, &c.
क	सुखव सुलाव	बद्धपालने	सुखवुन् sulavun, सुखवोय्न् sulavyau	take in ones lap.
क	ससर sōsar	काष्ठादिजीर्णने	ससरोय्न् sōsaryau	decay (of wood, &c.)
क	सोजं sōz	प्राणिप्रेषणे	सजुन् sōzun, सोजोय्न् sōzau	* send (a man, &c.)
क	सोर sōr	अवसाने	सूरु sūr ^u , सोरोय्न् sōryau	be spent, exhausted (of things.)
क	सुडं s ^o ḍ	क्षमायाम्	सुडुन् s ^o ḍun, सुडोय्न् s ^o ḍyau	bear, endure.
क	सुत् s ^o t	संघटने	सुत्तुन् s ^o tun, सुत्तोय्न् s ^o t ^u au	crowd in.
क	खव ख ^o v	क्षरणे	खवोय्न् khavyau	trickle, drip.
भा	सुस s ^o s	अपानवार्यौ	सुसुन् s ^o sun, सुसोय्न् s ^o syau or सुसोय्न् s ^o saun	break wind (without noise.)

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
हकर <i>hakar</i>	कार्कश्ये पुरीषोत्सर्गं	हक्यौव् <i>hakaryauv</i>	be hard.
हग <i>hag</i>	क्षीणीभवने	हगुन् <i>hagun</i> , हज्यौन् <i>hajyaun</i>	go to stool.
हट <i>hat</i>	क्षीणीकरणे	हथौव् <i>hatyauv</i>	be thin.
हट्र <i>haṭr</i>	क्षीणीकरणे	हटरन् <i>haṭrun</i> , हटथ्यौन् <i>haṭhyaun</i>	make thin.
हट्राव <i>haṭrāv</i>	च	हट्रावुन् <i>haṭrāvun</i> , हट्राव्यौन् <i>haṭrāvyaun</i>	ditto.
हन्दुर <i>handar</i>	शीतोभवने	हन्द्यौव् <i>handaryauv</i>	be cold.
हन्द्राव <i>haṇḍrāv</i>	शीतोकरणे	हन्द्रावुन् <i>haṇḍrāvun</i> , हन्द्राव्यौन् <i>haṇḍrāvyaun</i>	make cold.
हप <i>hap</i>	कार्थ्ये	हथौव् <i>hapyauv</i>	be lean.
हम <i>ham</i>	शमने	हथ्यौव् <i>hamyauv</i>	be appeased.
हर <i>har</i>	क्षरणपतनयोः	हथ्यौव् <i>haryauv</i>	*drip, fall (as of leaves from a tree).
हल <i>hal</i>	वक्रतायाम्	हल्यौव् <i>halyauv</i>	be crooked.
हहर <i>hahar</i>	विवाहकर्मणि	हहरन् <i>haharun</i> (masc.) हहरन् <i>haharān</i> or हृष्टुन् <i>hṛṣṭun</i>	marry off, get a girl married.

क	हँकल <i>hṇkal</i>	शीतसंकोचने	हँकल्यौव् <i>hṇkalyauv</i>	shrink on account of cold.
	हँठ <i>hṇṭh</i>	नैष्णल्ये	हँथौव् <i>hṇṭhyauv</i>	be fruitless.
	हँठराव <i>hṇṭh-rāv</i>	निष्फलीकरणे	हँठरोवुन् <i>hṇṭh-rōvun</i>	make fruitless.
	हान <i>han</i>	शेत्ये	हान्यौव् <i>hānyauv</i>	be cold.
	हामन <i>hāman</i>	शीतलापाके [श्यासीभवनं]	हामन्यौव् <i>hāmānyauv</i>	have small-pox eruption, [be dark coloured].
क	हार <i>hār</i>	पराजयनिपातयोः	होरुन् <i>hōrun</i> , हार्यौन् <i>hāryaun</i>	* be conquered, throw down.
क	हाव <i>hāv</i>	दर्शने	होवुन् <i>hōvun</i> , हावौन् <i>hāvyaun</i>	* show.
क	ह्यक <i>hyak</i>	शक्तौ	ह्यकुन् <i>hyākun</i> , ह्यक्यौन् <i>hēkyauv</i>	be able.
क	हि <i>hi</i>	ग्रहणक्रीणनधारणेषु	ह्यगुन् <i>hyātun</i> , ह्यग्यौन् <i>hyātsaun</i>	* take, buy, place.
क	ह्यल <i>hyal</i>	शिलायाम्	ह्यलुन् <i>hyāchun</i> , ह्यलयौन् <i>hēchyauv</i>	* teach.
क	ह्यड <i>hyad</i>	परिभाषणे	ह्यडुन् <i>hyādun</i> , ह्यड्यौन् <i>hējyaun</i>	blame, abuse.
	हिल <i>hil</i>	प्रवलीभवनं	हिल्यौव् <i>hilyauv</i>	be mighty.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
कृष् ह०कृ	शोधे	कृष् ह०कृ, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	* become dry.
कृष् ह०कृ	शोधणे	कृषन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	make dry.
कृष् ह०कृ	च	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	ditto.
कृष् ह०कृ	विषीभवने	कृष् ह०कृ, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	* go bad, decay.
कृष् ह०कृ	विषीकरणे	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	cause to go bad.
कृष् ह०कृ	पराजये	कृषन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	conquer.
कृष् ह०कृ	च	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	ditto.
कृष् ह०कृ	होने	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	sacrifice.
कृष् ह०कृ	शानने	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	appease.
कृष् ह०कृ	च	कृष्योन् ह०कृरुन्, कृष्योन् ह०कृयाव	ditto.
होन् ह०कृ	उत्तडीभवने	होष्योन् ह०कृयाव	be arrogant, intoxicated.

क	होर <i>hōr</i>	प्रतिदाने	हृबन् <i>hūrun</i> , हयौन् <i>horyaun</i>	* return, give back, repay.
	हन् <i>han</i>	शोधे	हृन्वोव् <i>hanyaav</i>	* swell, intumescence.
	हर् <i>har</i>	उपचये	हृयोव् <i>horyaav</i>	* increase.
	हल् <i>hal</i>	प्रसवारणे	हृन्वोव् <i>horyaav</i>	begin to be in labour (with a child).
क	हसव <i>hasav</i>	आदिस्त्वनायाम्	हसवुन् <i>hasavun</i> , हसयौन् <i>hasaryauun</i>	urge on, or excite a dog, &c.
क	हसनाव <i>hasanāv</i>	च	हसनोवुन् <i>hasanōvun</i> , हसनायौन् <i>hasanā- vyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

INDEX

TO

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXV, PART I, Nos. 1-4; 1896.

A'azzu-d-dīn, eldest son of Jahāndār Shāh, 165.

'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Sayyid Miyān, a Bārhaḥ Sayyid, 176; 179 ff.

'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, sketch of his career, 164.

Abū Bakr Shāh, coins of, 215, 216.

Āina-i-Haqq-numā, 111.

Akbar, his attention drawn towards Christianity in 1576, 47.

—, *firmān* of —, sent to the Fathers at Goa, 48.

—, presented by Jesuit Missionaries with a Bible and Catholic pictures, 50.

—, his attitude towards Christianity, 52.

—, sends an embassy to Goa in April 1582, 54.

—, grants *firmān* of leave for Pādrē Rodolā, 59. [60.]

—, grants *parwāna* to Leo Grimon, —, letter of —, to the Fathers at Goa, 61.

—, holds festival of Holy Assumption, 62.

—, keeps Christian images which he lends to the Jesuits at his court, 66, 68.

—, his new religion, 70.

—, expedition to the Deccan, 87 ff.

—, writes to the Portuguese for guns and ammunition, 83.

—, his death on 15th October 1605, 106 ff.

'Alā'u-d-dīn Khwārizm Shāh, coins of, 216.

'Alā'u-d-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, coins of, 215.

Allālanāthagarman, n. pr. of a *Sēvāt*, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Amuāi, n. pr. of a *tāmra-kāra*, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Ānandapura, an ancient name of Nagara, 132.

Anaṅgabhīma I., younger brother of Rājārāja II., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 246, 265.

Anaṅgabhīma II., son of Rājārāja III., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 248, 266.

Anantavarman, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 237, 258.

Aniyaṅkabhīma, *see* Anaṅgabhīma I.

Aquaviva, Rodolā, Jesuit Missionary, sent to Akbar's court, 39, 49.

—, attitude of —, towards Islām, 51.

—, letter by —, to the Jesuit General, 55.

—, remains alone at Akbar's court, 56.

—, obtains temporary leave from Akbar in 1583, 59.

—, murdered in Salsette, 59.

Aṭhapāga, n. pr. of a village mentioned in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

'Azīmu-sh-shān, second son of Bahādur Shāh, 137 ff.

—, ascends the throne after Bahādur Shāh's death, 143 ff.

—, his defeat and death, 148 ff.

'Azīz Kōka, grand chamberlain at Akbar's court, 86 ff.

Bakhtiyār Khiljī, conquest of Bengal by, 27 ff.

Ballālasēna, mentioned in Madanapādā Plates, 7 ff.

—, became King in 1119 A.D., 25 ff.

Bārhaḥ, Sayyids of, 174 ff.

—, etymology of the word, 175.

Bhānudēva, son of Narasimha I., mentioned in Kēndrapādā plates, 251, 268.

Bhauṃadēvalīpi, in *Lalitavistara*, meaning of the word, 127.

Bhīṃadēvaçarman, n. pr. of a Brahmin in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 254, 270.

Bhīmanārāyaṇapura, n. pr. of a place in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 255, 270.

Buddha, place of his birth and death, as recorded in a Tibetan guide-book, 275 ff.

Cabral, Antony, Portuguese embassy under him, arrives at Akbar's Court, 48.

Cabral, Father Francisco, 105.

Caddy, A. E., article by —, on two unrecorded sculptures in the Ananta Cave, *Khaṇḍagiri*, 272 ff.

Camatkārapura, another name for *Nagara*, 122.

Christian Art, at Akbar's Court, 74; see also Akbar.

Çivapurāṇa, quoted in *Madanapāḍā* plates, 7, 13.

Cōḍagaṅga, mentioned in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 239, 260.

Coins of Abū Bakr *Shāh*, 215, 216.

— 'Alā'u-d-dīn *Khawārizm Shāh*, 216.

— 'Alā'u-d-dīn Mas'ūd *Shāh*, 215.

— *Firōz Shāh*, 215, 216, 217.

— *Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban*, 217.

— *Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq I.*, 218.

— *Ibrāhīm Sūrī*, 214, 215.

— *Jahāndār Shāh*, 207 ff.

— *Kashmir Mahārājās* and *Sultāns*, 283 ff.

— *Lāl Kumwar*, 168.

— *Maḥmūd Shāh* of *Mālwa*, 215, 218.

— *Mughal Emperors*, 220 ff.

— *Muḥammad Shāh* of *Mālwa*, 215.

— *Muḥammad Sūrī*, 216.

— *Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrāu Shāh*, 216.

— *Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh*, 218.

— *Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh*, 217.

— *Naṣrat Shāh* (Delhi), 217.

— *Nimrōz*, 226 ff.

— *Raṣīah Bēgam*, 218.

— *Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh*, 217, 218.

— *Shēr Shāh Shūrī*, 214.

— supplementary to *Thomas's Chronicles*, 213 ff.

Corsi, Father, a Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 82, 96.

Dan, name of Prince *Dānyāl*, 50.

Dānasāgara, quotation from, referring to history of *Sēna* Kings of Bengal, 20, 23.

Dāstān-i-Masīh, 87, 110.

Dāstān-i-San Pedro, 111.

Dānyāl, Prince, 50.

Ḍērā, n. pr. of a *viṣaya* in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 255, 270.

Dhittu-Vellālī, n. pr. in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 256, 271.

Eḍaragrāma,—name of a place in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 255, 270.

Ēḍu-miçra, *kārikā* by, quoted, 22, 24.

Famine in Kashmir, 72.

Farrukh-siyar, *Muḥammad*, early history of, 171 ff.

—, leaves Patna for *Allahabad*, 181 ff.

—, arrives at the *Jumnah*, 194 ff.

Firōz Shāh, coins of, 215, 216, 217.

Garbhēçvaradēvaçarman, n. pr. of a Brahmin in *Madanapāḍā* Plates, 8, 14. *Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban*, coins of, 217.

Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq I. coins of, 218.

Ghōḍapāla, name of a village in *Kēndrapāḍā* Plates, 255, 270.

Goes, Benedict de, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 64.

—, accompanies Akbar to Kashmir, 71.

Grierson, G. A., articles by, on Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, 1 ff.

—, on the *Kāçmirī* Vowel System, 280 ff.

—, on a List of *Kāçmirī* Verbs, 306 ff.

Grimon, Leo, a Greek Sub-deacon, sent by Akbar to Goa with letters for the Viceroy and Fathers, 60 ff.

Guerreiro, Fernam, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 45 ff; 83 ff.

Guzman, Louis de, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 45 ff.

Harimiçraghataka, *kārikā* by, quoted 20 ff.

Hātakēçvara Temple, in *Çriguṇḍī*, *Aḥmadnagar*, 117 ff.

Hay, John, a Scotch Jesuit, account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 44.

Henriquez, Francis, a Persian convert, sent to Akbar's court, 49.

—————, withdraws to Goa, 54.

Hindi *daurnā*, derivation of, and of its equivalents in other Vernaculars, 4 ff.

Hindūstānī, early use of the word to denote the Vernacular, 58, 72, 96.

Husain 'Alī Khān, a Bārhaḥ Sayyid, 176, 178 ff.

Ibrāhīm Sūrī, coins of, 214, 215.

Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, formation of Causal Verbs in, 1 ff.

Irvine, W., article by —, on the later Mughals (1707-1803), 136 ff.

Jahāndār Shāh, eldest son of Bahādur Shāh, 137 ff.

—————, history of his reign, 160 ff.

Jahān Shāh, 138 ff.

—————, death of, 154 ff.

Jarric, Pierre du, S. J., account by —, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's Court, 45 ff., 83 ff.

Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 38 ff.

—————, first mission, 47 ff.

—————, second mission, 60 ff.

—————, third mission, 64 ff.

—————, their result, 106.

Jhādakhāṇḍa, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Kāçmīrī, Vowel system of, 280 ff.

—————, List of Verbs in, 306 ff.

Kaillō, name of a village in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 270.

Kāmārṇava I., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 233, 259.

Kāmārṇava II., son of Cōḍagaṅga by Kastūrīkāmōḍinī, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 241, 262.

Kantapādihatta, name of a village in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Kapilavāstu, site of, 276 ff.

Kashmir, Xavier's account of, 72.

—————, coins from, 223 ff.

Kēçavasēna, ruled over Gauḍa, 31.

—————, lived under the protection of a King, 25, 31.

Khaṇḍagiri, Ananta cave, sculptures in, 272 ff.

Khaṇḍasāhi, name of a village, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Kōmati Maṅku, n. pr. of a *Çrēṣṭhin*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Konarak, Black Pagoda at, erected by Narasiṁha I., 234, 251, 267.

Kōpiviṣṇu, n. pr. of *Sāndhivigrahika* of Viçvarūpasēna, in Madanapādā Plates, 8, 15.

Kusinārā, site of, 279.

Lakhmanīyā, last Hindu king of Bengal according to Muḥammadan historians, 19, ff., 27 ff.

Lakṣmaṇasēna, mentioned in Madanapādā Plates, 7 ff.

—————, origin of his Era, 25 ff.

—————, reigned from 1170-1198, 27.

Lalitavistara, passage on different kinds of *lipi* quoted, 125.

Lāl Kumwar, favourite wife of Jahāndār Shāh, 166 ff.

Leeton, Edward, S. J., Missionary to Akbar's court, 39, 63.

Machado, Antony, S. J., Missionary to Akbar's court, 83.

Maclagan, Gen. R., and E.D., article by —, on the Jesuit Missions to Emperor Akbar, 88 ff.

Madāi, n. pr. of a *Kāmsyakāra*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Mādhavasēna, was Governor of Rāḍha, 31.

Mahādēva Vēlāhi, n. pr. of a *tāmbūlika*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Mahmūd Shāh of Mālwa, coins of, 215, 218.

Mālōpura, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Mihryān, Persian feast of the Autumnal equinox, celebrated at Akbar's court, 57.

Mildenall, John, English ambassador to Akbar's court, 93 ff.

Mirātu-l-quds, another name for *Dāstān-i-Masīh*, q. v.

Mirzā 'Abdu-r-rahīm, 104 ff.

Mirzā Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, origin of his revolt, 53.

Monserrat, Antonio, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 49.

—————, instructs Prince Murād, 50.

—————, leaves Fathpūr for Agra, 54.

Mughal Emperors, history of later —, from 1707 to 1803, 136 ff.

—————, coins of 220 ff.

Muhammad Karim, eldest son of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, death of, 165.

Muhammad Shāh of Mālwa, coins of, 215.

Muhammad Sūrī, coins of, 216.

Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shāh's Vazir, 137 ff.

Murād, Prince, later Sultān, Akbar's son, instructed by Jesuits, 40, 50.

——, meets the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court at Cambay, 65.

Nādi, n. pr. of a *tāmra*kāra in Kēndrapādā Plates, 265, 271.

Nagara, name of various places or countries in India, 116.

Nāgara, name of a tribe near Kabul, 117.

——, name of certain Brahmins in Ahmadnagar, Gujarat, 117.

Nāgarakhanda, of *Skandapurāṇa*, quotation from, 119.

Nāgarī alphabet, origin of, 114 ff.

Nandisūtra, quotation from, referring to various kinds of *lipi*, 127.

Narasimha I., son of Anagabhima II., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 250, 267.

Narasimha II. of Orissa, Kēndrapādā plates of, 229 ff.

Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrāu Shāh, coins of, 216. [218.

Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh, coins of, 217.

Naṣrat Shāh (Dehli), coins of, 217.

Nauja or Noja, name of Sēna King of Bengal according to Muhammadan historians, 31 ff.

Nigliva Edict of Asoka, its bearing on the identification of lost site of Kāpilavāstu, 275 ff.

Nimrōz, coins from, 226 ff.

Nōri, n. pr. of *Qrēsthin*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Pādrē *Farmālūn*, Persian name of Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 42. *Pādrē Radalf*, Persian for Rodolfi Aquaviva, 42.

Pahāṇī, name of Prince Murād, 50.

Parācaradēvaçarman, n. pr. of a Brahman in Madanapādā Plates, 8, 14.

Paundravardhana, name of a *bhukti* in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Perreira, Julian, a priest, summoned by Akbar to his court, 47 ff.

Peres, Dominic, interpreter to Akbar's first mission to Goa, 48, 56, 57.

Peruschi, John Baptist, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court, 43 ff.

Phaigugrāma, name of a village in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 12.

Pimenta, Father, Provincial at Goa, his reports, 79, 81.

Pinheiro, Father, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 64.

Piñjokāsthī, name of a village in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 8, 13.

Plague, in Agra (1597), 71.

Prajñāpanasūtra (4th *Upāṅga* of Jainas), quotation from, on 18 sorts of *livī*, 126.

Prākṛtacandrikā, quotation from, on different Prākṛit languages, 116.

Purāi, n. pr. of a *Qrēsthin*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Puruṣōttamapura, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Qulij Khān, Viceroy of Lahore, his cruelties against Christians, 98 ff.

Rafī'u-sh-shān, third son of Bahādur Shāh, 137 ff.

——, defeat and death of, 158 ff.

Rāghava, son of Cōḍagaṅga by Indirā, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 243, 263.

Rājarāja I., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 239, 259.

Rājarāja II., son of Cōḍagaṅga by Candralēkhā, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 245, 264.

Rājarāja III., son of Anagabhima I., mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 247, 265.

Razīah Bēgam, coin of, 218.

Rēmunā, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 254, 278.

Rodgers, Chas. J., articles by, on supplement to Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, No. VI, 213 ff.

——, on rare *Mughal* coins, 220 ff.

——, on rare *Kashmīr* coins, 223 ff.

——, on coins from Nimrōz, 226 ff.

Roe, Sir Thomas, on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, 106 ff.

Sadāsēna, Bengal king, mentioned by Muhammadan historians, 31.

Sāhasapura, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Sa'id Khān, 104 ff.

Salīm, Prince, 50 ff.

——, his attitude towards Jesuits, 66 ff.

Samavāyasūtra, (4th *Anga* of Jains), quotation from, on 18 kinds of *livi*, 126.

Sayyids of Bārhab, account of, 174 ff.

Sēna kings of Bengal, chronology of, 16 ff.

——, not Vaidyas by caste, but Kāyasthas or Kṣatriyas of the Lunar Race, 36 ff.

Shaikhji, name of Prince Salīm, 50.

Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh, coins of, 217, 218.

Shēr Shāh Sūrī, coins of, 214.

Sousa, Francisco de, account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 46.

Sunāīla, name of a village in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Surathōtsava, quoted, 133.

Sūrya, represented among the sculptures in the Ananta Cave (Orissa), in Gaya, and in Gāndhāra, 274.

Svārga, name of a *viṣaya*, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Talaṅgagrāma, name of a village, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Tavares, Peter, Portuguese subordinate in Akbar's time, 47.

Tughril Khān, his wars with Jājnagar, 233 ff.

Ucaḍā, name of a village, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Uñcōkārthī, name of village, in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Vajrabhastā, mentioned in Kēndrapādā Plates, 238, 259.

Vanamālidēvaçarman, n. pr. of a Brahmin, in Madanapādā Plates, 8, 14.

Vaṅga, mentioned in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Vārayipādā, name of a village, in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Vasu, Nagēndranātha, articles by, on a Copper-plate grant of Viçvarūpasēnadēva, 6 ff.

——, on the chronology of the Sēna Kings of Bengal, 16 ff.

——, on the origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgarī alphabet, 114 ff.

——, on a Copper-plate Inscription of Narasiṃhadēva II. of Orissa, 229 ff.

Vechiete, Florentine João Battista, 95 ff.

Vēdapādā, name of a village, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Vēdapura, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 256, 271.

Vega, Christopher di, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 63.

Vibhūtipādā, name of a place, in Kēndrapādā Plates, 255, 270.

Viçvarūpadēvaçarman, n. pr. of a Brahmin, in Madanapādā Plates, 8, 14.

Viçvarūpasēnadēva, king of Bengal, Copper-plate of, from Madanapādā, 6 ff.

——, ruled in Eastern Bengal, 31.

Vijayasēna, mentioned in Madanapādā Plates, 7 ff.

Virakātthī, name of a village, in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Virgin Mary, picture of, presented to Akbar, 50.

Vikramapura, name of a place, in Madanapādā Plates, 7, 13.

Waddell, L. A., article by, on a Tibetan Guide-book to the lost sites of Buddha's birth and death, 275 ff.

Xavier, Jerome, S. J., sent to Akbar's court, 39, 64.

——, accompanies Akbar to Kashmīr, in 1597, 71.

——, author of *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*, and other Christian tracts in Persian, 111 ff.

——, compiles the *Dūstān-i-Masīh*, q. v.

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, 139 ff.

1 सहउन्माययायविनउन्मा
 2 श्रीउतन्माककमलमविमा
 3 यूयमायकयागलन्माउन्
 4 उन्माउन्माककवायमाय
 5 यथात्रायमहतिउन्माय
 6 डायगायनतिविद्यमविद्य
 7 समकयन्मायानन्माउन्
 8 क०॥॥नतिगन्मायन्मा
 9 नाप्रोडाडाडिगायमहदिव
 10 नगायगाडनकउन्माय
 11 म०॥॥या०॥॥०॥॥म०॥॥
 12 नल्यद्य०॥॥कनानिधिवाया॥
 13 प्रतिवन्माकककन्यद्य॥
 14 म०॥॥या०॥॥विगवितामिनी
 15 विद्यतिनामलकनन्माय

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31 यद्वाप्यस्तु वावावात्सम
 32 यद्वाप्यस्तु वावावात्सम
 33 तिन वयात्सम वावावात्सम
 34 यद्वाप्यस्तु वावावात्सम
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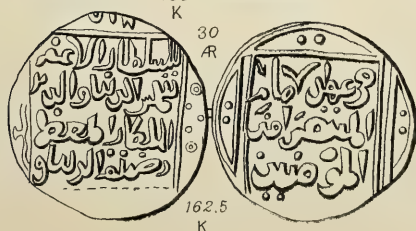
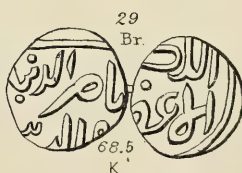
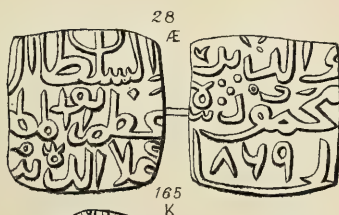
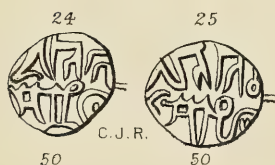
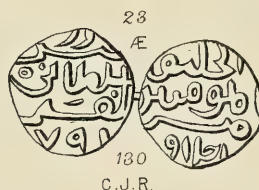
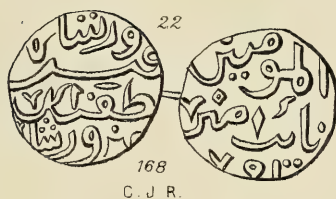
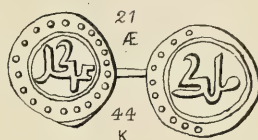
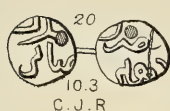
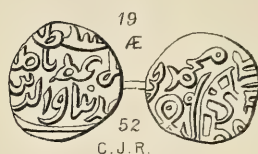
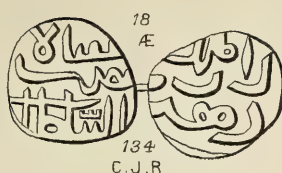
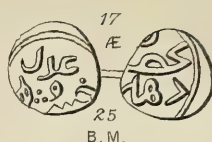
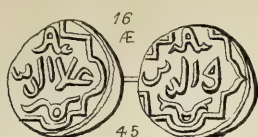
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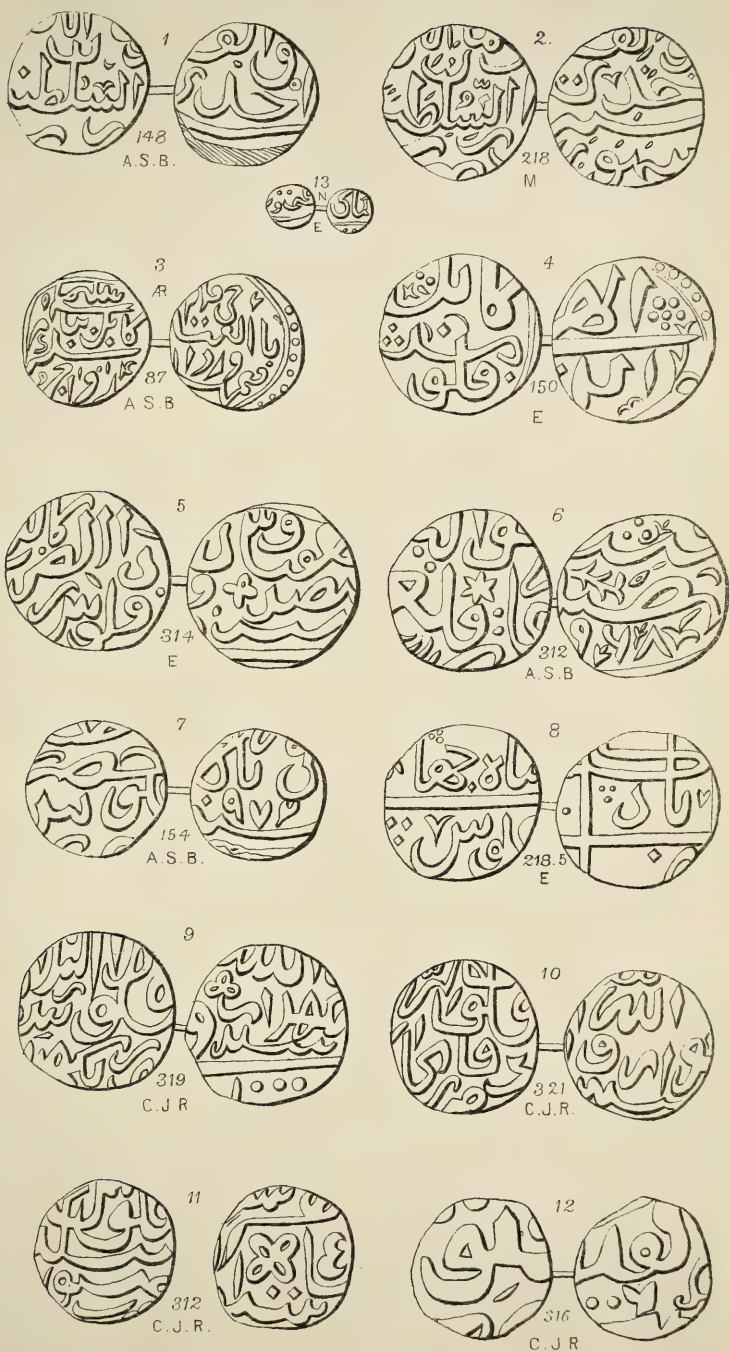


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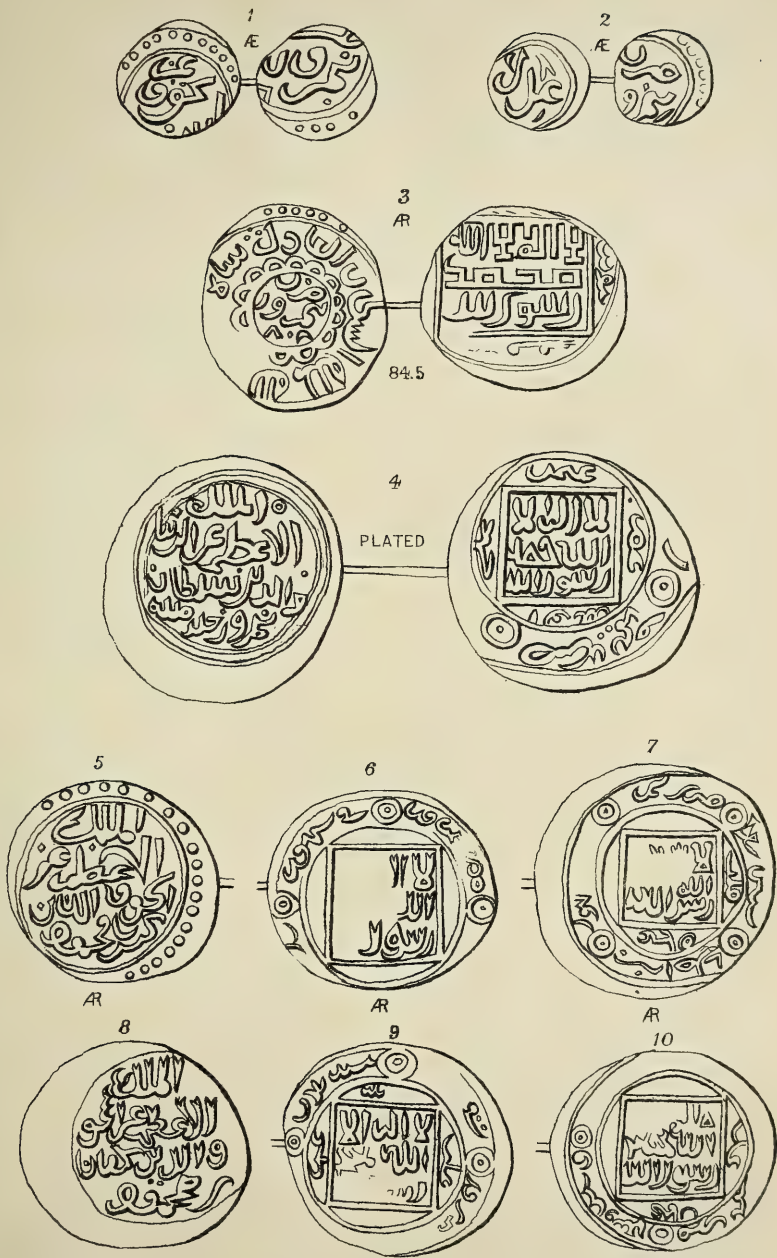
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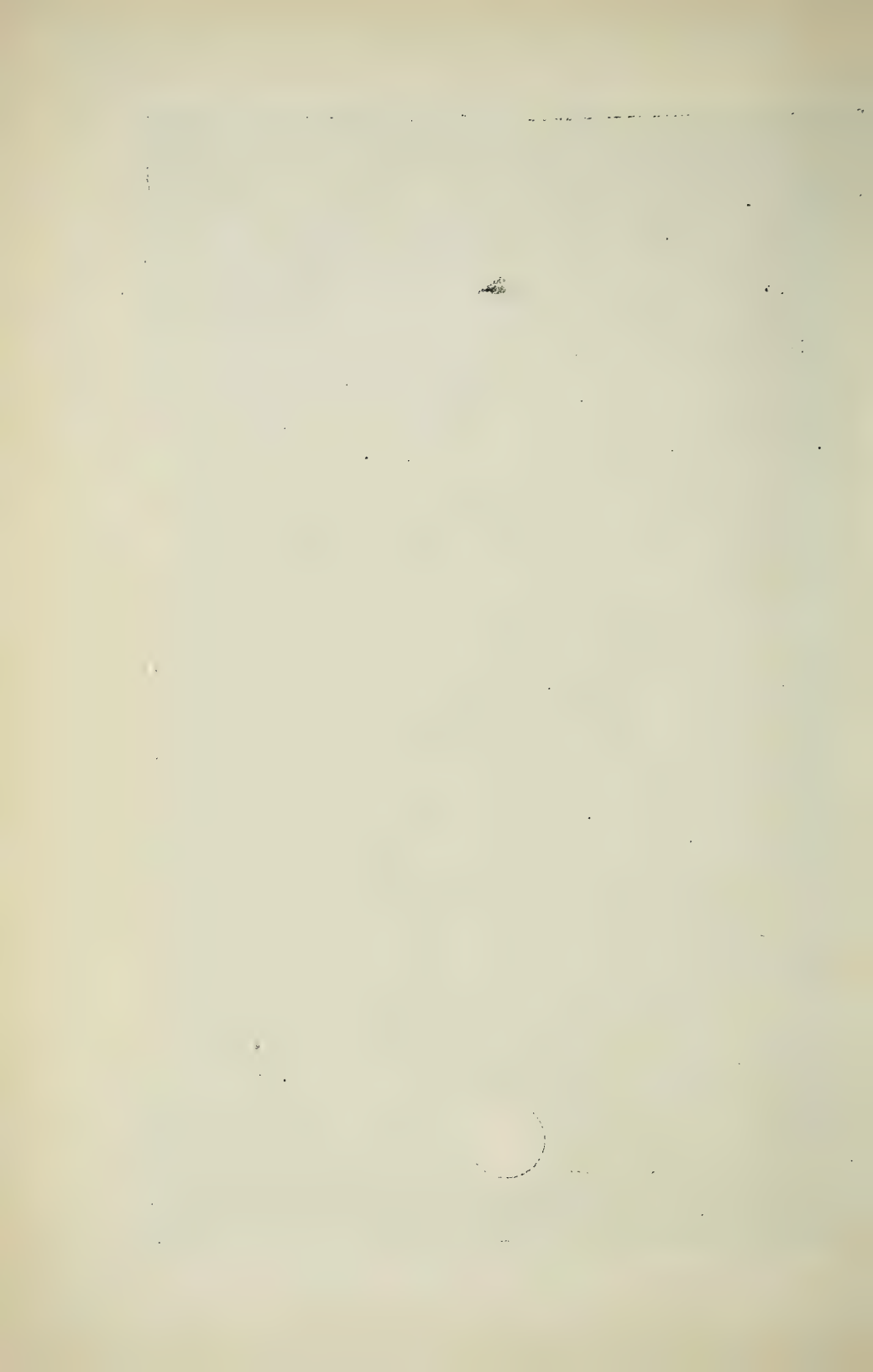
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विद्यानाखनाहोतावेक्रुद्वः यउगकममययपाद्यनिभकमुद्राः कवेनुशिकिनुवि
मनीः कः कीनिगद्योलेवः गीकाः पुदिममदराडिकलयाः किं प्रसिनामं सविं॥ याम्रवैकल
प्राप्तदीयसमाप्राउदययगभात्रायतातः प्राज्ञदन्मडीमवयतिः यानयद्वज्जम॥ याना
नुवयेनिविउयसवप्रजोदमो दीकज्जमसमलद्रदयावविह॥ द्वेयः यराणयकयः यदिरम
यस्मावागमउमयकलोहलयाथका॥ लक्ष्मिरुणसोविद्वेयद्वदीप्रलसिमुथाउजोझाणक
यणवउविहज्जहलामुद्रागलानयमन॥ संग्रामसूत्रं किंविउयवकलोयापुलमामनयमयथा
यङ्गधद्रउकविनसोउमीडानदः मयकः यम॥ नमलक्षिकमाउतयडाः क्षीनोदयानाजि
उदितयः किंलकाजोगाप्रकृतनः योस्मावितादरुः किंययवदिनप्राणकुलनविहद
माकेलुयनलज्जाननरउमूष्मक्षिषगलानायमा ननययद्रुः यनाहि
षकमजयः कलितहायणनीतमुलोवकयमनकलोववयः लयामि
नक्षिउरमृष्टामादुथास्तुयाद्विजातिजनगासुनयानकलिः जाग
यडाद्वदयामपविलोवननानाजाधुवतावयनिठः यविमाशिवोमो॥
अथाहयप्राप्तिनामनङ्गीमप्रसिद्धिस्मृतादिदधवृयापाउमामासादवालंम
प्रवः सवेकप्रियः कृत्वाउजयक्रावनरउस्त्रियउयडाः क्रम॥ मकच्छरादयामादे
ताउरमृष्टकगप्राद्वमोउगइहृङ्गीतः याउकदडाभोवनवर्णिदः अस्मावृष्टाणित
निहमनिप्रउयनिनाप्रायवक्रुदा नदकिञ्चिः कवज्जानमृमयनाकिजावयन्नवणिहएयज
यातिमृष्टाउवतामृतातयत्रणिउवाजनवाकमर्हिदिशुत्रिमुहयमिमुनमपुयम॥ जा
क्षिउतमृष्टाउडावनयाकुमानासिदासनेउगतियग॥ हदयादिद॥ राडावायन्नयनीनयन
जनप्रयावपाहवनिहवणिउकानिमग्रः उद्वियलमुकलाकृतिनिमुवमोगमिन्नमजो
ममनाधनादठ॥ कृत्तमृनितावालाधुयसामृष्टाउतः किंउरनममयोः किंथद्विहृष्टाव

धाम्र
५

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥




ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनिर्ब्रह्मविद्यायां युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पांडवश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १ ॥

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